16 PAGES
IS 500

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

AL FAJR
JERUSA.
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
(USPS 686-630

MAY 31, 1985
VOL.VI,NO.265

exp. 85/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

With Tacit Government Support

Settlers Terrorise Released Prisoners

Settler harassment of the recently released Palestinian prisoners who chose to stay in the West Bank and Gaza intensified and turned violent this week. Settlers openly said that they interpreted government silence on the matter as support for their aim of making the 600 odd released Palestinians leave the country.

In Hebron, Gush Emunim settlers from nearby Kiryat Arba went on a late night rampage in the city May 23 and 24 firing shots at homes of released prisoners, kicking cars, and smashing windows. Settlers fired shots at the home of released prisoner Talib Ghieth and uprooted plants in the vicinity. No one was hurt but several windows were shattered. They staged a similar attack on the residence of Azmi Obeido. The settlers left the area soon after Israeli border guards arrived. No one was arrested.

Some of the released prisoners from the Hebron area have left their homes and are now staying with relatives and friends elsewhere in the occupied territories. The former prisoners were trying to avoid clashes with the settlers and reduce tension in the area.

The Israeli press reported that settler leaders protested the Israeli army's attempts to set up roadblocks in Hebron in front of released prisoners' homes to protect them from settler harassment. A leader from the Kiryat Arba settlement told reporters that roadblocks will not deter settlers from pursuing the ex-prisoners until they have all left the country.

In Yatta, not far from Hebron, settlers fired shots at the home of Nawah Ashour, a former prisoner accused of killing a settler in Hebron two years ago. *The Jerusalem Post* reported that a scuffle occurred between the settlers and soldiers in which one soldier was wounded. The newspaper said the soldier has filed a complaint and an investigation is underway.

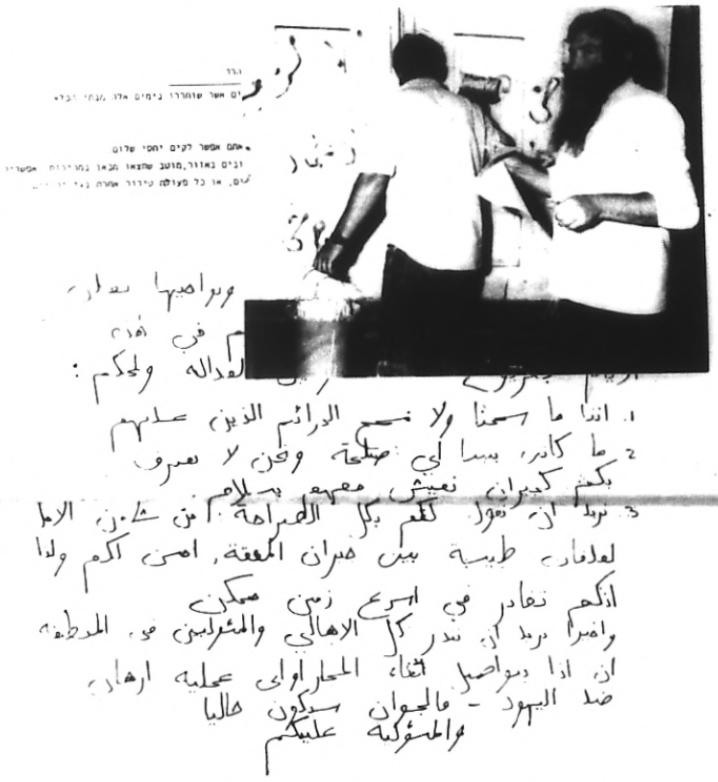
In Nablus, settlers attacked the residence of prisoner Mohammed Abu Kishik and smashed down the front door. The settlers intimidated Mohammed's parents and told them that their son should leave the country. However, Mohammed was not among the prisoners released and he is still serving a life sentence in prison.

Settlers from six West Bank settlements went to Dir al-Hatab village near Nablus May 28 to threaten released prisoner Samir Salah Hussein into leaving the country. Not finding Hussein at home, the settlers met the village *mukhtar* and asked him to assist them to encourage Hussein to leave. The *mukhtar* rejected their request and the settlers decided to return later to see Hussein in person. Dir al-Hatab villagers protested the settlers' attempts to intimidate the released prisoner and his relatives and to threaten their lives.

Thousands of notices addressed to the released prisoners appeared all over Nablus early May 27 "to leave (the country) as soon as possible." The posters said the settlers in the Nablus area "have not and will not forgive you for the crimes which you have committed" and that "we cannot recognise you as neighbours." The posters threatened Nablus residents that if more stones are thrown at settlers, they will "respond immediately."

The Jerusalem Post, quoting "well placed sources," reported May 28 that the settlers have set up a call-up system which will enable any one of

Continued on page 14



WARNING

WE WHO LIVE IN THE JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE AREA OF SHECHEM HEREBY NOTIFY ALL OF THE TERRORISTS THAT HAVE BEEN RELEASED CONTRARY TO ALL JUSTICE AND MORALITY.

1) WE HAVE NOT AND WILL NOT FORGIVE YOU FOR THE CRIMES WHICH YOU HAVE COMMITED

2) SINCE THERE IS NO FORGIVENESS, WE CAN NOT RECOGNIZE YOU AS NEIGHBORS IN PEACE

3) WE WANT TO TELL YOU FRANKLY FOR THE SAKE OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS IN THE AREA, THAT IT WOULD BE IN YOUR BEST INTERESTS TO LEAVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

FINALLY WE WOULD LIKE TO WARN ALL OF THE RESPONSIBLE RESIDENTS IN THE AREA, THAT IF STONE THROWING OR ANY OTHER TERRORIST ACT AGAINST THE JEWISH PEOPLE CONTINUE WE WILL RESPOND IMMEDIATELY.

Warning leaflet distributed in the Nablus area. (Inset) Jewish settlers posting threat inscriptions on West Bank walls.

Palestinians Hold off Amal Assault

Intermittent fighting continued around the Palestinian refugee camps in the Beirut area during the past week, after the Palestinian forces managed to bring Amal attacks to a halt and mount an offensive attack. Late in the week, several Arab countries started efforts to put an end to the fighting which has raged for 12 days and claimed over 400 lives and thousands of casualties.

News reports from the Lebanese capital said that the Shi'ite Amal militia and its allies from the predominantly Shi'ite 6th and 8th brigades of the sectarian Lebanese Army renewed their shelling of the Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps. Shi'ite forces used heavy tank and artillery fire as well as rocket launchers to pound civilian targets inside the camps. By the afternoon of Thursday, May 30, the death toll of the 12-day siege was estimated at 420 dead and nearly 2000 wounded, most of them civilians.

The Red Cross was not able to enter the sealed camp and evacuate the wounded. On May 27, during a short-lived lull in the fighting, four Red Cross ambulances raced in to remove wounded Palestinians. They were only able to gather 14, however, before a fresh round of fighting erupted half an hour later.

Palestinian forces managed to capture an old people's home on the edge of Sabra camp May 28, and are reportedly moving towards the sports city. The moral among the Shi'ite forces is reportedly dwindling as a result of rising casualties and dissension among the ranks of the 6th brigade. Agence France Presse (AFP) reported that Amal and their Lebanese Army allies have been suffering rising casualties in recent days. The report, which was published in local newspapers, said that Amal suffered a total of 25 dead on May 29

Continued on page 13

IN THIS ISSUE

Five Homes Demolished p.3
Arab Members of Knesset p.7
Palestinian Research Centres . . . . . pp.8&9
Not the Whole Story p.11
Silwan Residents Fight Road Closure p.16

Local Palestinians Protest Amal's Siege of Beirut Camps

Sporadic demonstrations and strikes prevailed in various parts of the country last week in protest against Amal's siege of Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

For the past 10 days, Amal militias and soldiers from the 6th and 8th brigades of the Lebanese Army have been bombarding and besieging Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps south of Beirut. Hundreds of Palestinians have been killed and thousands wounded. Massacres are widely rumoured to have taken place.

A partial commercial strike closed down all shops in the Old City of Jerusalem May 28 for several hours. Israeli patrols roamed the almost empty streets of the Old City in anticipation of demonstrations, but no clashes were reported.

Earlier in the week, demonstrations erupted in Balata refugee camp, near Nablus, youngsters reportedly pelted the Israeli soldiers who had rushed to the scene to restore order. Israeli troops used force to disperse the demonstrators.

Students at various universities and colleges also held strikes and rallies condemning the massacres. Najah National University was closed down for two days, May 28 and 29 to protest the massacres. The university administration and employees called on Palestinians to unite to counter the plots against their people.

Bethlehem University students also boycotted classes May 27 and instead held a rally in solidarity with the Palestinian refugees in the Beirut area. Student sources said all factions of the natinalist student movement at the university took part in the rally. Successive speakers blasted the Amal movement and the sectarian Lebanese Army for the massacres against the camps' Palestinian residents.

Earlier similiar student rallies were convened at Hebron University and at the Ramallah Teachers' Training Centre.

Popular organisations — such as labour unions, women's organisations, volunteer groups — and individual nationalist figures also roundly condemned the massacres in the Beirut camps. Numerous condemnation notices from all these groups appeared in the local press. The Arab Journalists Association issued a strongly worded statement, May 26, holding Syria along with Amal responsible for the attacks. "We call upon all Arab and Lebanese nationalist forces to intervene to put an end to the massacres to which our people have been subjected," the statement read.

Inside the "green line," the Regional Committee of Heads of Arab Local Council issued a statement May 28 calling on all Arab local councils to strike for two hours on May 30 in solidarity with the Palestinian people in Lebanon. In an extraordinary session May 28, the committee expressed outrage at the slaughter and voiced "full solidarity with the Palestinian masses who are being subjected to the massacres."

Earlier on May 27, MK Tawfiq Toubi from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, Ibrahim Nimr Hussein head of the Regional Committee of Arab Local Councils, lawyer Aziz Shehadeh from the Progressive List for Peace, and other figures from the Galilee and Triangle strongly denounced the massacres.

In Nazareth, a popular meeting was held at the "Friendship House" May 29 to protest war on the refugee camps. Speakers at the meeting condemned Amal's aggression in Beirut and called it "a service to the enemy." Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad told the crowd that "while we condemn the bloody aggression against the camps, we also condemn the Syrian position particularly since we believe Syria is able to stop the aggression but is not doing so." He said, "We wish we could be with our heroes in the camps to carry arms and fight together against the aggressors."

Zayyad and the rest of the crowd at the meeting organised by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality urged Palestinians to unite so that they can confront the attacks from a strong position.

AGAINST AMAL'S SIEGE

Protests World Wide

Palestinian students in the United States and members of the Arab-American community in Washington, Chicago and San Francisco strongly protested this week the continuing bombardment of the Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut by the Lebanese Amal militia and the sixth brigade of the sectarian Lebanese Army. Protests also took place in India and Peking.

The Washington DC branch of the General Union of Palestinian Students held a protest sit-in May 24 at the Arab League office demanding an end to the shelling of the camps which has so far claimed hundreds of lives and left more than 1500 wounded. The protesters sent a message to Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh, Amal leader Nabih Berri and Syrian President Hafez el-Assad expressing "outrage at the attack by Amal militia forces and the sixth brigade of the Lebanese Army against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon." The message went on to say that "We hold all Arab governments jointly responsible for the security of these camps and urge you to bring this senseless bloodshed to an end."

Supporters of the Palestinian National Salvation Front also held a demonstration May 28 in front of the Lebanese Embassy in Washington DC at noon to "denounce the atrocities currently being waged by Amal and the Lebanese Army against the Palestinian people in the camps of Beirut."

A sit-in protest took place May 24 at the office of the Arab League in Chicago by the city's Arab-American community. The protesters cabled Berri and Lebanese Druze leader Walid Jumblatt demanding an end to "this senseless bloodshed." The message was sent to "express our concern and solidarity with our people in Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps in Beirut."

It added: "We deplore and condemn the barbaric sectarianism in Lebanon... The Palestinian people have suffered enough. They are in Lebanon by force, not by choice. The plight of the Palestinian people should come to an end." Seventeen Palestinian organisations in Chicago signed the message.

In San Francisco, representatives of 12 Arab-American organisations took part in another sit-in protest held May 23 at the Arab League office. The protesters cabled Berri, Karameh and the Arab League denouncing the fighting in Lebanon and demanding an immediate cessation of hostilities. The message also demanded that the siege around the camps be lifted and that food and medical supplies be allowed in.

Meanwhile in the Indian capital of New Delhi, more than 100 Palestinian students took over the office of the Arab League May 28 to protest Arab apathy towards the ongoing fighting in Beirut's refugee camps.

In Peking May 28, demonstrators waved a large Palestinian flag and demanded an end to the slaughter.

Rev. Elias Chacour Lectures on Arab Church

Muslims and Christians in the Galilee fought political attempts to divide them into rival religious sects as has happened in Lebanon, said Elias Chacour, pastor of the Melkite Church in the Galilee village of Ibilin.

Speaking to an audience at the Ecumenical Institute for Theological Research, Tantur, in Jerusalem May 28, Chacour said Galilee Christians and Muslims refused to perceive the Lebanon war as "religious strife" or to take sides in that war. He said the Muslim considers the home of the Christian as his own, and the Christian looks at the Muslim as his brother.

Chacour, author of *Blood Brothers* and contributor to *Sojourners Magazine*, said in his lecture on "The Arab Church in the Holy Land" that if Muslims and Christians were able to co-exist in peace over many centuries, then the Jews should learn that coexistence between the three major religions — Judaism, Christianity and Islam — is possible. He said that members of the three religions can live in mutual respect on an equal basis without a master and a slave or a chosen and non-chosen people.

Reverend Elias Chacour.

Chacour expressed hope that one day the local Arab church will have local rather than foreign leaders. The Greek Orthodox church is run by Greek bishops and Patriarch and the Latin church by an Italian Patriarch, protestant churches by Americans and Britains, even though congregations are Arab.

Chacour urged Arab Christians to correct Western perceptions about Islam. He said the West knows little about Islam and "it is our duty as Christians in the Holy Land to clarify that Islam as a religion is closer to Christianity than Judaism despite our close relationship to the Old Testament as such, but not as a Jewish holy book."

Chacour also said that it is important to distinguish between using religion for political purposes and using religion for religious purposes. In South Africa, he said, the rulers abuse and distort Christianity while the real church is fighting for black majority rights. Chacour insists that the Church should fight for the poor, the weak and the helpless everywhere without getting involved in politics.

WB Judges Get Light Sentences for Bribery

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced four Israeli-appointed West Bank judges from the court of Appeals and the Nablus magistrate court to prison terms ranging from two months to three years last week.

Five judges were arrested March 23 on charges of accepting large sums of money in exchange for services. One of them, Sa'id Abu Swai of the Court of Appeals, was released over a month ago. He announced that he was released because the investigation failed to prove anything against him.

In its May 26 news broadcast, Israel TV reported that Judge Ghaleb al-Haj Mahmoud, the head of the Court of Appeals, was sentenced to three years in prison and fined JD16,000. Appeals Court member Zakaria Abdeen was given a six-month sentence.

Two other judges from the Nablus magistrates court, Zuhair al-Bishtawi and Mahmoud Abu Khdair, were sentenced to six and two months respectively. The Israeli military court postponed enactment of the sentence until after the month of Ramadan.

The Israeli military court's ruling came after more than one month of secret, closed trials. Palestinian legal experts say that the Israeli authorities usually transfer criminal cases to military courts whenever they want to watch a case closely. Lawyers say that Israeli military courts have jurisdiction over all criminal cases and can intervene when they see fit.

A spokesman for the Arab Lawyers Committee in Jerusalem (ALC) described the sentences as "very mild." Lawyer Ali Ghuzlan told *Al Fajr* that according to Jordanian law (still in effect in the occupied West Bank), the maximum penalty for such crimes is seven years in prison.

The fines levied on the judges were also minimal compared with the bribes they were reported to have collected. According to the Hebrew daily *Hadashot* of March 25, Judge Mahmoud was accused of taking JD12,000 in one bribe case from the al-Rjoub family in Dura, in the Hebron district. The judges are reportedly implicated in several cases of bribery.

Commenting on the corruption in the West Bank legal system, lawyer Ali Ghuzlan said that in an earlier statement the ALC explained that they perceive the corruption in the legal system as part of the corruption in the administration of the Israeli military governorate.

Army Arrests 30 Residents and Demolishes 5 Homes

The Israeli army demolished five homes in Saffa and Beit Ur al-Tahta in the Ramallah district May 23 following the arrest of 30 people between May 8-20. The 30 are charged with being members of a Palestinian cell that allegedly carried out anti-Israeli operations, including the fatal shooting of an Israeli soldier in Ramallah February 4.

According to residents of the demolished homes — one in Beit Ur and the other four in Saffa — a large military force arrived at the two villages late at night May 23 with four bulldozers. Residents said the military imposed a temporary curfew on the two villages while the bulldozers demolished the five homes.

Ni'meh Mustafa Hassan told *Al Fajr* that Israeli soldiers came to her home in Beit Ur around 11:00 pm and told her she had 15 minutes to vacate the home otherwise it woud be demolished on her and her childrens' heads. She said she got her seven children and the furniture out in time after which the house was razed. Her stepson, 19-year-old Ra'fat Mahmoud, was among the 30 arrested. He was charged with killing an Israeli soldier in Ramallah on February 4, planting a bomb in a car carrying cooking gas cylinders in Rehovot last December 7 and killing an Arab resident of Beit Ur el-Tahta, Yousef Hassan, 35, believed to be an Israeli collaborator, on May 8.

The four homes demolished in Saffa (pop. 2500) were owned by the families of five of the suspects: Rafe' Farhoud, Mohammed Ibrahim Nasser, Ahmad abd al-Fatah Nasser and Said Shueib and his brother Abd al-Rahman. The remaining suspects are from Deir Ibzi, Ne'eleen, Aboud and Tireh, all in the Ramallah area.

According to the family of Mohammed Ibrahim Nasser, 30, another suspect whose house was destroyed, carloads of Israeli civilians came to arrest Nasser two weeks ago. At first they refused to open the door but they yielded when the Israelis threatened to shoot it open. The family said they were worried Mohammed was being kidnapped by settlers but they could not refuse because the civilians were armed. All the family knows is that Nasser is in detention somewhere, they said. Nasser has a wife and three children who have moved in with relatives since the demolition of their home. Mohammed also supports a mother and a brother studying abroad.

The family of Abd al-Rahman Shueib, another suspect, expressed astonishment at the destruction of their home. Abd al-Rahman's mother said the Israelis arrested her son on May 20 and four days later they came to demolish his home. "He is not even convicted yet," she said. The destruction of the home left Abd al-Rahman's family living outdoors, sleeping on whatever furniture they managed to save in the 15-minute warning period before bulldozers moved in. The family said they have informed the Red Cross of their situation and expect to be given some assistance.

Ra'fat Mahmoud was the first to be arrested among the group which was alleged to be a cell operating under the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). He was arrested May 9, the day after Hassan was killed. According to the village residents, Hassan's wife claimed she saw Ra'fat Mahmoud shoot her husband at close range in the village valley. She immediately informed the military government which arrested Ra'fat and then located the gun used in the killing.

Israel Radio alleged May 24 that this gun was the same one used to shoot the Israeli soldier in Ramallah February 4. The radio reported that the army arrested the other 29 suspects on the basis of information obtained during Ra'fat Mahmoud's interrogation. The Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanot* reported on May 24 that the military is continuing its investigation to see if the same group is responsible for the killing of an Israeli settler in al-Bireh central market March 31.

One of the suspects, Ahmad Abd al-Fatah, was shot in the arm while he was being dragged out of his home by unidentified persons who came to arrest him. According to his brother, the family heard Ahmad yell "robbery!" when he saw cars with West Bank licence plates parked outside. Then they heard gun shots but by the time they got outside to see what happened, Abd al-Fatah and his abductors had disappeared. He said when he went out the next day he saw blood spots on the ground and realised that his brother must have been shot. When he checked with the military headquarters in Ramallah, he was informed that Ahmad had been shot in the arm and that he was taken to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem. None of his relatives were allowed to see him. They were told that he was hit in the kidneys in addition to his shoulder, but his condition is now stable.

Student, 18, Stabbed

Local Institutions Condemn Clashes at BZU, Qalandya

Local Palestinian institutions jointly issued a strong statement in local papers May 28 condemning the violent student clashes at Bir Zeit University and the Qalandya Vocational Training Centre last week. One student was killed and scores of others wounded in two separate clashes sparked by political differences.

"The nationalist institutions, forces, and figures in the occupied territories were agonised by the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories as a result of the interfighting among beloved nationalist groups," read a statement from many local institutions which appeared in four local Arabic dailies. The statement warned that resorting to violence only serves the Israeli occupation and its agents. It also called for national unity on the basis of confronting the Israeli occupation.

The statement was issued following the fatal stabbing May 27 of Tawfiq Rashad Sawalmeh, 18, from Fara'a refugee camp, northeast of Nablus. Sawalmeh, a student at the Qalandya Vocational Training Centre, was fatally wounded by another student during a heated political argument at the UNRWA administered Qalandya campus. He was rushed to the Augusta Victoria hospital on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, but was pronounced dead on arrival. He is the first casualty of inter-Palestinian political violence in the occupied territories since the occupation began in 1967. UNRWA's Jerusalem field office closed down the centre May 28 until further notice in order to prevent an escalation of tension on campus.

Two days earlier, nationalist students at Bir Zeit University were involved in a scuffle and several students suffered minor injuries. The clashes broke out over a political rally scheduled as part of the Progressive Palestine Week festival, which was sponsored by the Student Work Front and the Progressive Student Bloc, neither of which is represented in the student council.

In statements issued in the local press the student council explained that the clashes started after the two student blocs decided to hold the rally without the consent of the student council and the university administration. Counter-statements issued by the two blocs explained that they requested permission to hold the Palestine week, but the request was denied. Dr. Gabi Baramki, acting president of Bir Zeit denounced the violence that subsequently broke out between both sides. In response to a question on the permit, Dr. Baramki said that the two student blocs could have appealed the decision.

Local figures intervened to calm down the situation. The university board of trustees closed down the university until Saturday June 1, in order to allow students to calm down.

The new trend of violence was severely condemned by all branches of the student movement and other popular organisations in the occupied territories. The four nationalist student blocs, women's movements, and voluntary work groups issued a joint statement and several separate statements condemning the violence among nationalists and pledging to resolve all disputes by democratic dialogue.

Student blocs such as the Students Youth Movement and the Student Work Front which were involved in the scuffles issued separate statements criticising the resort to violence among nationalist forces and called for national unity. The Student Work Front statement, which appeared in *Al Mithaq* daily May 28, expressed strong comdemnation of the incident in which Sawalmeh was killed. "These dangerous incidents come at a time of criminal attacks by the Amal movement and its supporters in West Beirut," the statement said.

Likewise, the Student Youth Movement's statement called on " national institutions to condemn the killing."

Ex-Prisoner Detained 5 Days

The Israeli magistrates court in Jerusalem ordered the release May 28 of Mousa Odeh, from Silwan village, after five days in detention. Odeh, who was previously serving a life sentence, was one of 1150 Palestinian prisoners released in the exchange May 20. Odeh was rearrested May 24 on charges of incitement.

According to attorney Lea Tsemel, who represents Odeh, police failed to verify allegations that the ex-prisoner was involved in incitement. Israeli newspapers quoted police sources after the arrest alleging that Odeh was preaching to seven Silwan residents at a local mosque. Tsemel said that her client wasn't even close to the mosque at the time. She expressed her belief that the measure was an attempt to pressure him to leave the country for good.

Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin told reporters after the prisoner exchange that the Israeli security services would keep a close watch on the released prisoners. He warned that any prisoner who takes part in any activity would be rearrested.

Campaign for Release of Jewish 'Underground' Escalates

The campaign for the release of the Jewish underground continued this week despite Prime Minister Peres's attempt to postpone any decision over a pardon until the goverment's legal advisor completes his review of the case. On Tuesday May 28, Deputy Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir visited the hunger strike staged by wives of underground suspects opposite the Knesset. Shamir pleaded with the hunger strikers to call off their strike, saying that "the majority of the Israeli public are in favour of your husbands' release and they will indeed be released whether you continue your strike or not."

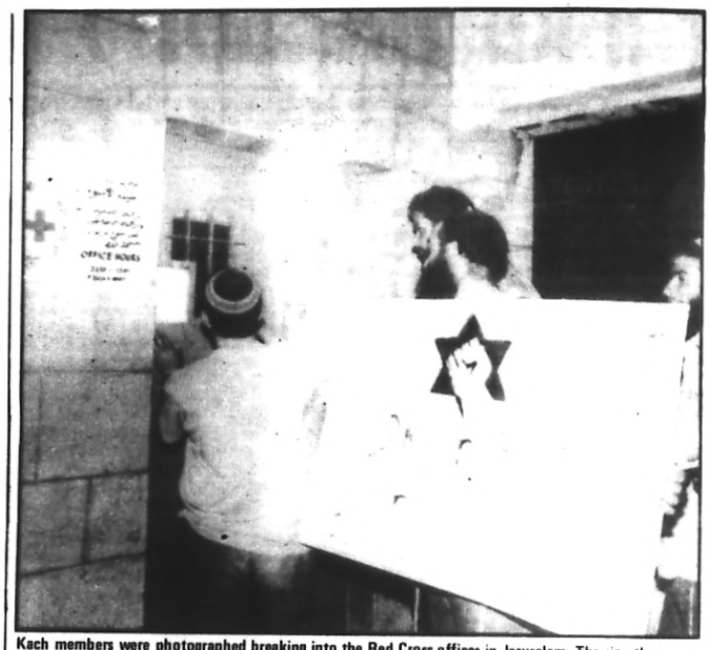
Minister of Interior Yitzhak Peretz made a statement in which he called for the release of the underground defendants, referring to them as "excellent human material." Peretz, apparently caught up in the amnesty euphoria, went on to suggest that all Jewish prisoners who had become religious while in prison should also be granted a pardon. (Peretz is a member of the right-wing religious *Shas* party.)

Army Chief-of-Staff Moshe Levy bitterly condemned the behaviour of the eight soldiers who were captured three years ago at a press conference held in Tel Aviv on May 28. Levy also said that in retrospect it was a mistake to have imposed a news blackout on the prisoner exchange. If such a situation crops up again, he said, he would suggest that the issue be put before the public.

Peace Now has launched a campaign to protest the demands of the underground supporters. A Peace Now spokesperson announced the movement's intention to hold a series of protest demonstrations, the first of which is scheduled for June 1. Peace Now has come out against the attempt to undermine the Israeli legal process and has roundly condemned the Likud ministers' support for the prisoner exchange with the PFLP-GC, which appears to have been no more than a ploy to gain the release of the Jewish underground.

An organisation for saving Israeli democracy was formed in Tel Aviv on Tuesday May 28; it is composed of Peace Now, Mapam, Shinui, the Citizens' Rights Movement, Hashomer Hatzair and a number of small left-wing Zionist groups. In a statement released to the press, the organisation said that its purpose is to prevent political intervention in the trial of the Jewish underground and likewise prevent the underground from being granted a pardon on account of political pressure. The organisation also called for the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the Lebanese war.

During a meeting of the Labour Alignment Knesset bloc, Peres called on Labour MKs "not to play Mapam and the Citizen Rights' Movement's game. Whoever wants to demonstrate can demonstrate, but there is no need for a commission of inquiry." At the end of the meeting, the Labour Alignment decided to abstain from Wednesday's vote on setting up a commission of inquiry, so now there is a majority in the Knesset against the move. (Translation: HaAretz, Al Hamishmar, May 27-29, 1985).



Kach members were photographed breaking into the Red Cross offices in Jerusalem. The sign they hold reads, "Kill the murderers" and bears on it the clenched fist emblem of the Kach party.

Kach Gang Breaks Into Red Cross Office

Four members of the racist Israeli Kach movement paid an early morning surprise visit May 23 to the East Jerusalem offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross demanding a list of the Palestinian political prisoners released during the May 20 exchange with Israel.

The Kach members were met at the locked entrance to the building by the security guard who refused to let them in. The guard then called Red Cross officials who in turn called the police.

When the guard refused to open the door the Kach members broke a small window at the gate and unsuccessfully tried to break into the building. Police cars arrived at the scene and ordered the Kach members to leave. None were arrested despite the damage caused. The Red Cross also did not file any complaints.

Kach, together with Gush Emunim, is spearheading efforts to drive the more than 600 released Palestinian prisoners who chose to stay here with their families out of the country. So far two released prisoners from the Bethlehem area have left the West Bank following threats against their lives by settlers in that area.

Another Round of Price Hikes Takes Effect

Prices of subsidised goods went up by 25 percent and other products increased by 14 percent at midnight May 27 in accordance with the "package deal" agreement between the Israeli government, the Histadrut labour federation and the industrialists. Prices will be frozen at the new rates for two months.

All subsidised basic food stuffs and fuel, with the exception of car petrol, went up by 25 percent. Car petrol increased 41 percent due to an increase in excise tax. The Ministry of Trade and Industry issued a list of non-subsidised goods and services which are to increase by 14 percent. Another list of 40 products will increase between 17 and 37 percent, like imported electrical appliances which will rise by 29.5 percent.

After this increase prices will be frozen for two more months according to the package deal agreement but economists expect prices to increase soon nonetheless when Value Added Tax rises from 15 to 17 percent in accordance with a cabinet decision last week. The cabinet also took other measures last week like raising the travel tax from US$150 to US$300. The cabinet made its decisions following an unexpected inflation rate of 19.4 percent for the month of April.

The new increase puts the frozen price for the US dollar at IS985, an increase of 14 percent, for the coming two months. The frozen rate applies to hotel payments, purchases of cars and spare parts, and payments made on on-going contracts.

Tireh Averts Kahane Visit

The village of Tireh in the Triangle went on strike May 29 in protest against threats by racist Kach leader and MK Meir Kahane to go to their village to "talk" four ex-prisoners released in the May 20 exchange into leaving the country.

Kahane, who together with settler leaders is actively trying to force the released prisoners to leave the country, announced three days before his scheduled "visit" to Tireh that he intended to go there to pressure the four former prisoners to leave.

The village council responded by calling for a total strike and urged the residents to come out *en masse* to stop Kahane and his followers from entering the village. The police also said they would block off the road leading to the village and turn Kahane back if he showed up.

Early in the morning on the day of the strike, residents gathered at the village council building and proceeded to the entrance of the village prepared for a confrontation with Kahane. Representatives from surrounding Arab villages also came to Tireh to join in the anti-Kahane protest.

However, the day passed without a word from Kahane who is believed to have changed his mind in light of the protests. Kahane's legal immunity, which he like all Knesset members received once he was elected to the Knesset, was restricted by a Knesset committee several months ago, particularly his freedom of movement in Arab areas. Kahane is now required to obtain police permission to enter an Arab village.

جامعة بيرزيت

BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY SUMMER PROGRAMME 1985

1. *Arabic 131: Classical, Beginners.*
2. *Arabic 132: Classical, Intermediate.*
3. *Arabic 130: Colloquial, Beginners.*
4. *Sociology 335: Sociology of Religion.*
5. *Sociology 438: Development Under Occupation.*
6. *Sociology 234: Palestinian Society.*
7. *Anthropology 233: Introduction to Folklore.*
8. *Political Science 433: Modernisation of the Arab World.*

The six-week courses will run from July 1 – August 16.

Tuition: US$250 per course. Application Fee: US$15.
Housing: US$175 for 6 weeks. Medical Fee: US$10.
For course descriptions and application forms write to:

Summer Programme 1985
Office of the Registrar
Bir Zeit University
P.O. Box 14, Bir Zeit
West Bank, via Israel

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630) is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Vigilantism on the Rampage

The majority of the Palestinian prisoners released last week who had a choice to stay or leave the country chose to stay although they were fully aware that they would be closely watched by the Israeli government, possibly rearrested and easy targets for acts of revenge.

The fact that the prisoners knew what might lie ahead does not relieve the Israeli government from its commitment, under the terms of the exchange, to safeguard their well-being or from its responsibility to protect the population under its occupation.

Yet Jewish settlers are rampaging on an open campaign of vigilantism in the occupied territories and so far, neither the army nor the government has intervened. Israeli settlers, extremists, and top government officials have all pitched in their share to the vigilante drive to expel the prisoners.

Jewish settlers have taken the law into their own hands carrying out terror campaigns, shooting at released prisoners, distributing hate leaflets and threatening prisoners, their families, and the community at large. In one of the leaflets the Jewish settlers – who are living in Arab territory in violation of international law – had the gall to tell ex-prisoners in the Nablus area, "We cannot recognise you as neighbours in peace."

Israeli soldiers, acting upon orders from military officers, refused to stop the illegal actions of the settlers or to investigate them.

The Jerusalem police, who stood watching as five of Meir Kahana's hoodlums broke the windows of the Red Cross office in Jerusalem, did not even make a pretense of detaining the attackers despite the publication of their photos in the Israeli press. One Gush Emunim official from Tekoa settlement spoke on Israel TV and told the nation out loud that the government stood behind them in their goal of expelling the ex-prisoners from the country. Government sympathy for Jewish settlers, widely acknowledged, reached new outrageous levels when Deputy Prime Minister Shamir advocated immediate release of the Jewish underground and only a handful protested.

Palestinians living under occupation have to be on their guard for Jewish vigilantes who simply want them to leave, in addition to bearing a foreign military occupation and a policy of economic annexation. The Palestinians' only possible response is the one already being given by besieged Palestinians in Beirut: *sumud* (steadfastness) and unity until liberation dawns.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS. . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

in US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

Amal's Drive for Power - At Any Cost

by Maher Abukhater

Nabih Berri, leader of the Lebanese Shi'ite Amal movement, explained that his goal from the recent brutal onslaught on the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut is to disarm the Palestinians and to end their military presence in Lebanon once and for all. He stated very clearly that he would not allow the Palestinian guerillas to resume their attacks on Israel from Lebanese territories.

While this is Berri's declared goal, it seems his undeclared goal might be to dislodge the Palestinians as a whole from Shi'ite areas as a first step towards building a purely Shi'ite entity in Lebanon. If so, the exodus of tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees from Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh camps in West Beirut further east to Druze-controlled areas in the mountains and to the Beka'a is serving Berri's goal. Berri must have learned from his Israeli neighbours that an indiscriminate slaughter of civilians is an excellent tactic to evacuate inhabitants from large areas. As soon as the refugees leave the camps, Berri's men are going to level them so the refugees will never return, just as the Phalange did to Tel al-Za'atar refugee camp in Beirut in 1976.

Berri knows that his real fight 'n Lebanon has not yet begun. He knows that his real enemies are not the Palestinians or the Israelis, but the Phalange, and to a lesser extent the Druze. Before the Palestinian guerilla movement started training and arming the Shi'ites in Lebanon following the 1975-76 civil war hoping to make the largest sect in Lebanon their ally, the Shi'ites were the poorest and the most ignored sector of the population. They were never given any real representation in the government and they worked in the most menial jobs. And before Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, they were targets for regular Israeli air raids on south Lebanon which forced the majority of them to evacuate the south and live with the Palestinians in their refugee camps, mainly in Beirut.

The misery of the Shi'ites in Lebanon created a special relationship between them and the Palestinians who shared their bad luck. The well organised and armed Palestinians took in the Shi'ites and turned them into an effective, popular militia force. The Palestinians calculated that they could create a nationalist militia to confront the Israeli-backed Phalangists while they concentrated on fighting their real enemies – the Israelis.

But the Shi'ites seem to have been planning for a totally different goal. They were getting themselves ready to come out of the dirt in Lebanon and to assume a position that reflected their demographic weight. When the opportunity came, after the 1982 Israeli invasion that spread havoc in Lebanon, they grabbed it forcefully and advanced to implement it at any cost. If Amal succeeds in crushing the Palestinians, it will become the sole ruler in west and south Beirut as well as most of south Lebanon, just as the Druze control the Shouf mountains and the Kharoub region and the Christians have east and north Beirut while the Sunni Muslims control northern Lebanon. Berri then will be ready to establish an autonomous entity under the sole control of his Shi'ite forces, uncontested by any other power inside this entity.

Before directing his guns at the Palestinians, Berri's militia attacked and liquidated the remnants of the Sunni Mourabitoun militias in West Beirut. Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, he also refused to join any of the Lebanese national coalitions like the National Salvation Front or the present Progressive Nationalist Front. He only formed an unwritten alliance with Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party in confronting their arch-enemy the Phalange.

Berri might be aiming to guarantee two things with such a Shi'ite entity: first, that only armed Shi'ite forces remain in Shi'ite territories to create a power base in case the civil war against the Phalangists and their allies continues, and second, in the event that warring Lebanese factions sit down to negotiate a settlement, Berri will come to the table in a strong position. Berri is calculating that the current political constellation in Lebanon does not bode well for national reconciliation based on the existing constitution. He knows that another way out of the conflict is to set up a confederacy with each of the major sects given equal representation in national government while each sect maintains an independent infrastructure to rule its local affairs.

The Druze, the Sunnis and the Christians each have their own independent entity run solely by members from each community with a local militia. The Shi'ites also want a similar arrangement, even at the expense of their friends the Palestinians, before they commit themselves to entering serious negotiations with the other Lebanese factions that can lead either to the establishment of a confederate state or to an all-out decisive civil war. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

What Were the Cabinet's Real Motives?

by Michael Lowry

Why did the Israeli government agree to release 1150 POWs and security prisoners in exchange for three Israeli soldiers within the framework of an agreement that could not but be perceived as a "total capitulation to the Palestinian terrorist organisations" by the vast majority of the Israeli public?

At the time of this writing (May 26,1985) I have yet to hear a half rational explanation. The notion that the Israeli government was moved by humanitarian sentiment strikes me as patently absurd. Did the Likud ministers act out of humanitarian sentiment when they voted against the withdrawal in January? Did the Labour Party consider the lives of Israeli soldiers when it voted *en masse* in support of General Sharon's crusade in June 1982? Am I supposed to believe that Yitzhak Rabin, during whose term as prime minister scores of men, women and children were sacrificed on the altar of Israel's refusal to negotiate with terrorists, "put himself in the place of the parents of the POWs?"

Sorry. I can't. (Perhaps I need a political lobotomy.) If Israeli policy was really governed by the type of human concern so prominently on display this past week, the recent history of the country would look quite different. Only a few short months ago, Peres and Rabin did not seem to be upset about a constantly rising casualty rate in Lebanon when they planned the army's leisurely withdrawal. No, something is being kept under wraps; however, it is not clear what that something is.

Quid Pro Quo and Let the Terrorists Go

The day the news blackout on the prisoner exchange was lifted, Yitzhak Shamir, the deputy prime minister, announced the inception of a campaign to release the members of the Jewish underground (now on trial at the Jerusalem District Court) in a blatant attempt to offset the shock of the prisoner exchange. According to a report in the Jewish daily *HaAretz*, on May 21, the supporters of the underground (ie, Gush Emunim) were informed of the impending prisoner exchange over a month ago. The "spontaneous" show of support for the release of the defendants was planned in advance.

Overnight, the fascist momentum of Israeli politics, stalled for the past year, was recaptured as Kiryat Arba settlers ran amok in Hebron, the Jewish underground lobby in the Knesset doubled its size and strength in 24 hours, and the underground defendants fired their lawyers and refused to testify, catapulting their trial to its conclusion. Talk of their being granted a pardon grew rife. Although one year ago, Shamir, prime minister at the time, ordered the arrest of the underground, today he is demanding it be pardoned. Politicians move in strange ways, especially when they're party to a "national unity government."

Over the past year, the underground — while not a political force in its own right (no pun intended) — has become the fulcrum of Israeli fascism. Though at the time of their arrest, only the Tehiya Party and Kahane's Kach movement openly came out in defence of the members of the Gush Emunim underground, today *all* the right wing and clerical parties and even some Labour Party members are working for their release.

Ariel Sharon, one of the great humanitarians who voted in favour of the prisoner exchange, is a long time supporter of the underground. His rationale for immediately releasing the defendants is that it is necessary if Israel is to prevent the rise of "real" undergrounds, "both of the right and the left." Given Sharon's proclivities for violence, it is hardly surprising to hear him advising the government to grant the underground a certain legitimacy; what was underground, Sharon seems to be saying, should become overground. The best way to prevent violence is to release those people who have been convicted and confined for employing violence.

Is that why Sharon voted in favour of the government agreeing to the terms set by Jibril and the Red Cross?

Circumstances Not Withstanding

The case of the Jewish underground rests on the argument that these "fine young men," "all respected members of the settler movement, whose military pasts are all "worthy of our respect," were driven to "take the law into their own hands" because the government did not impose order on the West Bank. The question of which law the underground was implementing when it staged a shooting spree at the Islamic academy, plotted to blow up the Temple Mount, or planted bombs on a bunch of East Jerusalem buses is one of those vague points the supporters of the underground have not bothered to spell out.

That the occupied territories is chock-full of terrorists who pose a security threat to the settlers is one of the axioms of Gush Emunim propaganda. Now, regardless of whether the Israeli security forces prefer to keep the released prisoners under their watchful eye rather than see them go abroad, for the Israeli public, the security demands of Gush Emunim have all of a sudden gained a certain plausibility.

However, in spite of the fact that the regained momentum of the fascistic forces in Israel this past week was predicated on the prisoner exchange, to predicate the prisoner exchange on the campaign for releasing the underground defendants is analogous to putting the conspiratorial wagon in front of the circumstantial horse, at this point.

The Labour Party's response to the demand to free the underground defendants has assumed a legalistic tenor. After all, the Labour Party has always believed in keeping up appearances, and in this case, due process of the law must appear to be above politics. Its political problems at present revolve around the question of how to explain the prisoner exchange to a population inculcated with the idea that lives may be sacrificed in order to avoid "being blackmailed by terrorists."

But we have not come any closer to solving the riddle of prisoner exchange. I can only offer the following conclusion. We are being systematically underinformed. But to what purpose?

Michael Lowry is a freelance journalist who lives in Jerusalem ■

Following in the Footsteps of Likud

by Yehuda Litani/HaAretz

Despite conciliatory statements by Prime Minister Shimon Peres and other senior figures in the Labour Alignment on the ostensible freeze on settlement activities on the West Bank, not only are the existing settlements continuing to expand, there is also a veritable flurry of road building activity going on throughout the West Bank. Only this week [the first week of May] the Knesset finance committee aproved an IS8 million budget for the establishment of new settlements (in accordance with the national unity government coalition agreement). When Yitzhak Rabin and Avraham Katz-Oz call for concentrating on the development of the Jordan Valley and the hilly region south of Hebron, one must keep in mind that these areas are the least developed on the West Bank — settlement-wise. The labour ministries — ie, defence and agriculture — will henceforth tend to these areas, while in the meantime, the Likud ministries — ie, housing and construction, finance, and industry and commerce — look after "their" regions: the Hebron area and the western region of the West Bank. Both parties are underwriting their own projects with their ministerial budgets.

Recently, the responsibility for building permanent dwellings in West Bank settlements was transferred to the Ministry of Construction and Housing. Up until now, this matter was in the hands of the settlement department of the World Zionist Organization. As a result of the transfer, the WZO can release funds previously earmarked for housing and use them for enlarging existing settlements or establishing new ones. The situation on the West Bank is such that one ministerial hand washes the other; every official body helps the others and no one hinders another's operation.

When Yitzhak Rabin calls for the massive development of the Jordan Valley settlements and for continuing to develop the region near the border, it does not mean that he intends the development of other settlement areas to cease. When Avraham Katz-Oz speaks about the importance of developing the hilly region of south Hebron, David Levy's ministry does not take it to mean that it should cease work on the construction of settlement towns in the western sector of the West Bank. Thus, both partner-opponents of the national unity government feel comfortable; each one can operate on its own "turf" without being bothered by the other. Yitzhak Rabin turned a blind eye to the eastern section of the highway [the Minister of Defence is financing] in the western sector of the West Bank and David Levy did likewise when he spoke about the western section of that same road [which his ministry is financing].

Both Likud and Labour feel free to draw the map of their fancy, be it in accordance with an amplified version of the Allon plan or with the conception that the West Bank is "a liberated area that will not be returned." The facts on the ground speak for themselves: road building and the development and establishment of settlements are going on apace throughout the West Bank... For the settlers the roads are not only strategically important, they are also helping to cut down travel expenses, thereby making it easier to entice more settlers to the area.

Shimon Peres's national unity government is following in the footsteps of the Likud government. The present policy of establishing settlements and building roads throughout the West Bank, not to mention the policy of expropriating the property of Arab residents by declaring their land to be state land, is identical to the policy pursued by Begin and Sharon. The focal points may have changed, but the general trend has remained the same. In a situation wherein every minister has the authority to put the development of West Bank settlements at the top of his list of priorities and use his ministerial budget to that end (as David Levy did when he announced that his ministry would establish between three to four additional urban settlements on the West Bank and continue work on the road system of the area), it is difficult to alter prevailing trends. Moreover, eight years of massive development and the investment of hundreds of millions (if not billions) of dollars have made many of the projects underway difficult if not impossible to halt.

The leaders of the Labour Alignment cannot and do not want to dissolve the national unity government at this point over an issue which both they and their Likud opposites ostensibly hold so dear. They also prefer to ignore what is going on in the areas they term "densely populated" and concentrate solely on the areas they have put at the top of their list of priorities. In regard to the issue of the highway through the western sector of the West Bank and the development of the Jordan Valley settlements, Avraham Katz-Oz and Yitzhak Rabin have employed the traditional Labour Party strategy: one needn't stick one's head in the sand like an ostrich, it's enough to turn a blind eye. (Translation: HaAretz, May 12, 1985.) ■

We continue this week our series of interviews with Arabs who are members of the Israeli Knesset. The interviews, conducted by Kate Rouhana, are presented in alphabetical order.

Mi'ari: Politician of a New Era

Arab Members of Knesset

Mohammed Mi'ari was born in 1939 in the village of Biruv. The village was destroyed in 1948, so Mi'ari's family moved to the village of Maker. He went to high school in Kufr Yasif, eight kilometres from Maker, a distance which he travelled daily on foot. In 1962, Mi'ari received a Master of Juris from the Faculty of Law at Hebrew University. After two years of legal training, he opened a law office in Haifa.

Mi'ari defines himself as "first of all, a Palestinian." And he adds: "The Palestinian people is a part of the Arab nation, so I'm an Arab also. I'm a citizen of the state of Israel, a situation which was created without asking me. And I belong to all those powers all over the world who want peace, progress, and human rights for all people. I have some other definitions, but they're not so important. I'm a Muslim, although I'm not religious. And I'm a socialist."

Mi'ari is one of the founders of the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), a joint Arab-Jewish movement that formally submitted a list to run for the Knesset on July 31, 1984, and was subsequently outlawed by the Central Elections Committee. That decision was overruled by the Supreme Court on June 28, 1984. The PLP won 17.6 percent of valid Arab votes, and gained two seats in the Knesset. Mi'ari is serving his first term as an MK in the no. 1 position on the PLP list.

The platform of the Progressive List for Peace in the 1984 elections begins by asserting that "the Palestinian question is the crux of the prolonged conflict between the two peoples of this land" and proceeds to outline four principles for its resolution. These include:

1. "Insuring full equality of national and civil rights for the Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel in the boundaries of June 4, 1967" including the enactment of a democratic constitution.

2. "A mutual recognition of the right of both peoples — the Jewish-Israeli and the Palestinian-Arab — to national self-determination." This requires Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied in 1967, the platform asserts, and the end of the occupation. "These territories should be returned to their legimate owner, the Arab Palestinian people, for the purpose of establishing there their independent Palestinian state.

3. The foregoing to be achieved by negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO.

4. Immediate withdrawal from Lebanon.

On his political background: "My political activity began in the university itself. I was a member of the Arab Students Committee which was, I think, the first organisation — political or professional — among the Arab citizens. At that time, in the beginning of the 1960's, there was the *al-Ard* movement, I was one of the founders of this movement until it was outlawed by the defense minister in 1964.

"In 1965 we made up a list to participate in the elections for the eighth Knesset. I was the third candidate on this list, but it was outlawed. They pretended that the initiators of this list were the founders of *al-Ard*, and they banned it on this pretext. I continued my political activities on behalf of the Arabs here. I was the secretary of the Arab Academic organisation in 1972. I was, and still am, the secretary of the Arab Lands Defense Committee. Until recently, I was the head of the Friends of the Prisoners' Association, and I have many other activities *vis-a-vis* the many problems of the Arab minority.

"Although during all that time I cooperated with the Communist Party and later the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), I was never a member of the Communist Party or the DFPE. I and my friends kept the idea that there must be a national line that must act among the Arab Palestinians inside Israel, to be more linked to the Palestinian problem and to concentrate all its efforts on the problems of the Arabs inside Israel: asking equality, and giving our share in finding a just solution to the Palestinian problem, because the Arabs inside Israel are part of this people."

On the foundation of the Progressive List for Peace: "So it was but natural after this long time, when the time was ripe, to try and move this idea and to participate in the elections in order to use the Knesset as a platform to transmit our ideas and to try and influence the political media, public opinion, and even the Israeli politic — the government of the state of Israel.

"The first idea was to establish a pure Arab list. I was against it, because according to our experience of the last 35 years, I knew that the authorities will not allow such an organisation. Secondly, I think that if we want to get political influence, we must do it as a common struggle between Arabs, on the one hand, and the progressive, liberal elements in the Jewish sector who accept the minimum demands for the Palestinians — equality for the Palestinians inside Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, for their own state alongside the state of Israel, and that the PLO is the sole representative of this people.

"We found some friends in an organisation called *Alternativa* — Matti Peled, Ya'acov Arnon, and Uri Avnery — who had acted for a long time according to these demands. So the list was established as a cooperation between two organisations — one in the Arab sector called the Progressive Movement, and the other in the Jewish sector *Alternativa*, and other liberal Jewish movements, according to a minimum platform accepted and agreed.

"The time was right because, from one side, the Arabs have grown in number and in quality. We have developed. Now we have intellectuals, academics, and local political organisations with whom you can deal and decide for the future. And as I mentioned, the Palestinian problem is now accepted to be an international problem, and every effort is needed now in order to support this cause."

On the identity of the Arabs in Israel: "The Arabs, the Palestinians in Israel are like the Palestinians all over the world. They do not have only a monopolitical movement. During all this time, the Communist Party and the DFPE have been the sole organisations acting among the Palestinians in Israel, although they couldn't mobilise all the voters. So we felt there was a need to mobilise the masses, to make them active, to take their part in order to influence events. We thought this situation was not serving any aim for the Arab citizens and also the Palestinian problem, and we wanted to deal with these masses in order to put them in the right direction.

"I think that the Arabs here have two powers with which to influence events — political and social. The first is the electoral power, and the second is the labour power. We have begun with the electoral factor in order to mobilise these masses and rally them around political and national demands, and we intend to move to deal with the labour power also in order to cultivate it for our cause. We began by participating in the Histadrut elections. Next, we can try to form an Arab labour association with links with the Histadrut because we know that the Histadrut can't serve us in its situation in any way. But as an organisation, we can't avoid participation in order to gather our people, our labourers, and to make them a power inside the Histadrut first of all, and then the next step is to make them into a special organisation, an Arab association."

On the achievements and goals of the PLP: "As for what the PLP has achieved, it has been a very short time, only six months. But I think the most important thing we have done is to fix the identity, the pure identity, of the Palestinians inside Israel: that they are Palestinians first of all, a part of the Palestinian people, and that they are part of the *struggle* of the Palestinian people, not only a national feeling, but actually we act as Palestinians. We denied the two lines which tried to influence the Palestinians inside Israel. One line was the Communist: they met with the Palestinian problems and the Palestinian people through a general democratic struggle. On the other side we had the Zionist parties, who tried to take away this part of the Palestinian people from the Palestinian problem and to make what's called the 'Israeli Arabs.'

"Secondly, we mobilised all those who were indifferent about their problems and their people's problems. You can find political activity in the Arab villages and towns and everywhere. You can feel that the environment has changed.

I THINK THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WE HAVE DONE IS TO FIX THE IDENTITY, THE PURE IDENTITY, OF THE PALESTINIANS INSIDE ISRAEL: THAT THEY ARE PALESTINIANS FIRST OF ALL...

"We began to deal with the problems of Arab education inside Israel. The situation is very bad now, the schools, rooms, and so on. But this is not the main problem. The main problem is the curriculum in the Arab schools. We want to make it fit for the demands of the Arabs as Palestinians — to learn to deal with Palestinian history, Palestinian civilisation, Palestinian folklore — to stress, to insist on the point that these people are Palestinians.

"Town planning is a very big problem. Despite the fact that the Arabs have grown in numbers, their towns and villages remain the same narrow restricted building areas. We demand that all these big villages must be changed to the status of town. A city can have its own committee for planning buildings. I would mention that in that famous agreement between the PLP and the Alignment, one condition was that Um al-Fahm be upgraded to city status. This was a condition for us to give our vote to Shlomo Hillel as speaker of the Knesset, and it has since been done.

Continued on page 13

Palestinian Research Centres Fall Short of Expectations

by Said al-Ghazali

There are many Palestinian research centres in the West Bank which collect data, do research in various fields, and train young researchers. These centres are the only existing Palestinian institutes in the occupied territories which monitor Palestinian life — documenting the past, analysing present trends, and planning for the future.

There are two different types: union or university-based centres, and independent private institutions. The former category includes the Research and Documentation Centres at Najah, Bethlehem, and Bir Zeit Universities, the Rural Research Centre at Najah, a centre attached to the graduate club in Jerusalem, and research committees belonging to professional unions. The latter category includes The Arab Studies Society (ASS), The Social and Popular Palestinian Heritage Committee (SPPHC), The Arab Scientific Institute for Research and Transfer of Technology (ASIR), Law in the Service of Man (*LSM*), and The Palestine Data Centre (PDC).

Most of them were founded after 1967 — by individuals or prominent figures who personally recruited the financial backing — to meet the social and political needs and concerns which have grown tremendously to match Palestinian national aspirations to establish their own independent state. This political motive has encouraged some in the occupied territories to set up research centres and committees hastily without enough preparations or ensuring smooth and effective management and functioning for new centres. Some of these deficiencies are understandable and even excusable; others are not.

Most centres lack technical equipment such as computers, microfilms and microfiches. Many are staffed with unqualified personnel, due to the shortage of trained Palestinian researchers. More seriously, however, many of the centres have not set clear-cut goals and lack discernible foci on limited well-defined fields of research. The absence of coordination, partly due to competition, between these centres is the most severe problem. Many are wasting enormous time, energy, and money unknowingly duplicating the efforts of their counterparts.

The Israelis' refusal to issue permits for some research projects in agriculture, marketing, industry and commerce has not helped the situation. This particular problem forced researchers to publish their studies abroad and sell them to academic institutions overseas.

Research centres at some local universities have fallen victim to bad administration on the part of high university officials who know little about research.

The relatively new universities in the occupied territories have not yet set in place institutionalised procedures determining the allocation of funds to centres, the hiring and firing of personnel, the scope of authority and freedom allowed to centre directors, the extent and nature of administration intervention permissable, and the channels for arbitrating disputes. As with so many other new local Palestinian organisations, university research centres are not bound by clear regulations, leaving the door wide open for abuses of power on the part of powerful university officials. Several such cases have already severely impeded the development of university-based research centres.

Aims

Most directors decided to launch a wide variety of unrelated programmes to make their centres into one or more kinds of institutions: research and development authorities, national archives, public relations offices, or libraries of already completed Israeli and Palestinian studies. Some held a secondary aim of alleviating problems of unemployed graduates by providing jobs. Given this multi-purpose approach, many have not succeeded at building centres that are clearly one of these many things and that tailor agendas and research plans accordingly.

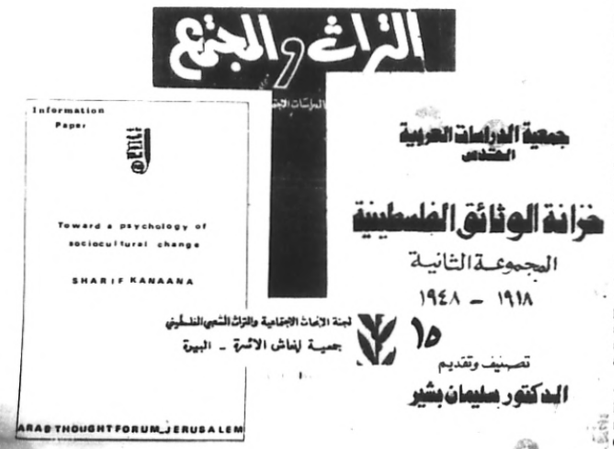
The Arab Studies Society (ASS) which was founded by some Palestinian intellectuals in Jerusalem — primarily Faisal Husseini — in 1980, decided to publish studies on various national and international topics dealing with culture, education, history, economy, politics, and sociology. The ASS has also compiled archives of press clippings and documented statistics on relevant local issues.

The Research and Documentation Centre at Bir Zeit University, which was founded in 1976, is concerned with similar projects, including the press and documentation archives and various research projects. The Research and Documentation Centre at Najah University, which was established in 1982, publishes research on Palestinian heritage and collects personal documents and papers from Palestinian families for archives. The centre also seeks to promote scientific research at the university.

The Social and Popular Palestinian Heritage Committee (SPPHC), which was founded in 1972 by *Ina'ash al-Usra*, the Family Rehabilitation Society in el-Bireh, restricted itself to research on folklore. However, the committee has no specific plan or agenda that would enable it to cover all cultural aspects systematically.

The Arab Scientific Institute for Research and Transfer of Technology (ASIR) was founded in 1981 by Dr Said Assaf, PhD in Biochemistry and Biophysics. The ASIR undertakes analytical studies in the fields of environmental science, health, food, agriculture, soil and water.

The Arab Thought Forum Society, which was founded in 1977 by seven Palestinian academics, among them engineer Ibrahim Dakkak, does social and economic field studies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It aims to initiate development projects in these areas.



The Rural Research Centre (RRC) at Najah University was founded in 1981 by Dr Faras Sawalha. Its focus is on agriculture. It does studies on the technical and administrative problems affecting agricultural products, provides suggestions for rural development projects, collects rural statistical data from various sources, studies the limitations levied on crop marketing and assesses the profitability of crops and agricultural investment.

The best research centre is Law in the Service of Man (LSM), the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, which was founded by a group of West Bank lawyers and other individuals in 1981. Its sole concern is human and legal rights in the occupied territories, where it aims to promote the rule of law. LSM collects affidavits from witnesses and victims of human rights violations, conducts systematic field investigations, prepares reports in Arabic and English assessing legislation enacted by the military authorities, and prepares handbooks in Arabic advising Palestinian residents of their rights in various situations.

The Research and Study Committee (RSC) in the graduates' club in Jerusalem, which was founded in 1966, has published only four books since 1982 on unrelated topics. The RSC has no specific perspective. The branch of the Agricultural Engineers Union in Jerusalem, which was founded in 1975, also published some papers in 1984 on agriculture in Jordan.

> "MOST RESEARCH CENTRES LACK BASIC EQUIPMENT SUCH AS TYPEWRITERS AND PHOTOCOPY MACHINES, NOT TO SPEAK OF MORE TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT SUCH AS COMPUTERS, MICROFILM, AND MICROFICHE."
>
> -Sharif Kanaaneh

Infrastructure

There is no specific standard infrastructure in most research centres in the West Bank. They were not based on detailed studies concerning goals and clear programmes that would prevent duplication in goals and projects. The founders do not seem to have taken international standards of organisation and infrastructure into consideration in designing their centres.

The researchers at these centres are not classified into special units with concrete fieldwork assignments. Most studies are made by some researchers from outside the research centres. The Bir Zeit Documentation and Research Centre, for example, is staffed by a director with a PhD, and five staff members with BAs who had no training in research and serve only as assistant researchers, and one or two typists. At the Arab Studies Society (ASS), there is only one fulltime researcher. The ASS initiates studies by contacting researchers in various fields who submit their proposals to the society. If the proposal is endorsed, the society then seeks to find funding for it.

At Najah's Rural Research Centre, five specialists and two clerical workers are employed. The researchers do theoretical and empirical studies in rural areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They have to collect statistical data from nearly 400 villages in the two regions. It is obvious that the five staff members cannot do systematic studies covering all areas. The Research and Documentation Centre at Najah University has two divisions: the scientific section is intended to provide researchers with reference books, scientific information, periodicals and catalogues; and the transcript and documentation section is intended to collect transcripts, official records, personal maps and papers of historical value from Palestinians. The centre is run by a director and an administrative five-person committee whose members represent all college departments. The only staff available to the director is a secretary. Administrative instabilities at the university and the centre have stunted its progress.

The Social and Popular Palestinian Heritage Committee (SPPHC) at *Ina'ash al-Usra*, the Family Rehabilitation Society, consists of five writers whose aim it is to collect everything they can about Palestinian heritage. The five writers, who published several studies on Palestinian heritage, do not have a detailed plan for publications or organised research units to systematically cover the various aspects of Palestinian culture.

Dr Sharif Kana'aneh, the director of the Bir Zeit Research Centre and also a member of SPPHC, admitted that the committee did not specify goals within a specific cultural field. Abdel Aziz Abu Hadba, another committee member, also said: "It is impossible for very limited part-time researchers who lack proper funding to cover all aspects of folklore in all areas of Palestine." Kana'aneh, who is trying to introduce comprehensive improvements for the Bir Zeit research centre, added: "Most centres lack basic equipment such as typewriters, recorders, cameras, cassettes and photocopy machines, not to speak of more technical equipment such as computers, microfilm and microfiche." Kana'aneh also spoke about his experience as acting president of Najah University from 1981-1984 and said that university regulations and bureaucracy make it difficult to initiate projects and improvements. Kana'aneh plans to define one goal for the Bir Zeit centre and, he said, "There should be a strong commitment towards that goal."

Dr Nadim Rouhana, former director of Najah Documentation and Research Centre, described it as "very poorly organised, and the administration seems to have hardly any idea what the centre should do. The present university administration does not seem to have research as one of its top priorities. In addition to that, in many cases non-academic considerations imposed by the local balance of power inside the university and the town make any improvement extremely hard."

Ibrahim Dakkak, founder of the Arab Thought Forum, criticised the goals of research in the occupied territories. He said: "The researchers write to satisfy luxurious needs of the bourgois class whose members are able to buy books. Most research projects focus on urban rather than rural areas. There is no research on the Palestinian reality."

Products

It is not hard to determine that some research centres perform the same tasks. For example, the Arab Studies Society and the Bir Zeit and Najah research centres all clip articles from Israeli and Palestinian newspapers. The same three institutes haphazardly publish research studies dealing with a wide variety of topics and subjects. This is also true of the Research and Study Committee of the graduates' club which has published only four books on unrelated topics.

The Arab Studies Society has published 37 books and the Bir Zeit Research Centre, 38. These books are on various topics related to economy, agriculture, sociology, journalism, housing, education, industry, philosophy, politics, culture, literature, heritage, library and legal studies. The Arab Studies Society produced some important new studies like a bibliography of books and articles published in Palestine since 1967, a dictionary of names of villages and sites in Palestine, and a map of Palestinian villages.

Since 1980, the Bir Zeit centre has been trying to do a census in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but never finished it due to poor planning and simple lack of infrastructure. This campaign, which surveyed 80 percent of the population, cost JD50,000. The centre recently decided to cancel it because it is a government task and completion would require another JD50,000. However, a census of 50 percent of the population is essentially useless.

The Centre for Documentation and Research at Najah only published a few old documents about some mosques and municipalities and two issues of the *Najah Journal of Research*.

The Arab Scientific Institute for Research and Transfer of Technology (ASIR) has produced a number of scientific research projects dealing with the role of olive oil in preventing the thrombotic heart disease, the physical and chemical properties of West Bank olive oil, the chemical and hydrological aspects of irrigation in Jericho wells, food acquisition in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the adaptation of hybrid sheep, and the *Jajoba* tree, which produces industrial oil. The ASIR has planted 20,000 trees on the campus of Yarmouk University in Jordan and 22,000 in Qatar. The institute also did studies on agriculture and industry in Jordan and laboratory research. However, most of these studies are sent to institutions abroad.

Dr Said Assaf, head of ASIR, told *Al Fajr*: "The institute is the first of its kind in the Arab world. It depends on contracts and grants from Arab countries, institutes and companies like Yarmouk University, ARAMCO, the Prince's office in Qatar and American scientific and charity organisations."

The Arab Thought Forum held a conference on development in 1981 which produced some papers on agriculture and economy. It has also published handbooks of statistical tables and analytical reports for researchers. The Forum is currently preparing a study about problems residents of the Jordan Valley face. "The aim of this and other studies," Dakkak told *Al Fajr*, "is to develop scientific criteria for the distribution of steadfastness funds." The society is now preparing to convene five conferences on education, media, labour, development, and women in development.

The Rural Research Centre at Najah has done a number of research projects including olive presses and olive production in the West Bank, citrus marketing in the Gaza Strip, the feasibility of a West Bank hatchery, marketing and profitability of principal crops in various parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the feasibility of converting the Fara'a irrigation canal into a pressurised system. Director Sawalha classified the centre's studies into four types: agricultural, statistical, consultative, and economic. "We are concerned with providing academics with general and specific knowledge about agriculture and

Research centres often do not delineate clear goals and design projects in line with these goals. This joint project between ASIR and Yarmouk University was conducted in the north of Jordan, far from the West Bank, with little discernible local benefit.

the problems that farmers face. However, Kana'aneh criticised the Rural Research Centre, saying: "It has not published deeply scientific and well-organised studies."

The Social and Popular Heritage Committee at *Ina'ash al-Usra* has put out a quarterly magazine, called *Heritage and Society* since 1974 and completed various studies including one on the social and cultural life in the Ramallah village Turmus Aya, an introductory manual for the study of folklore, a volume on popular Palestinian dress, and a volume on birth and childhood which documents childbirth customs. The committee also collects all kinds of material on Palestinian customs, beliefs, and folklore in general.

Bureaucracy

Research centre directors at local universities are often not appointed because of their experience or abilities but because of their *wasta* or connections. Politics is also a criterion. However, if a capable director with the ability to forge a successful centre wants to introduce changes and work plans, he often cannot do so because he is not the decision-maker. Rather, one or two people on the university board of trustees are the ones who make decisions. Sometimes schedules and plans of work submitted to the university administration never reap a response. The new director will encounter similar problems.

> THE ABSENCE OF COORDINATION, PARTLY DUE TO COMPETITION, BETWEEN THESE CENTRES IS THE MOST SEVERE PROBLEM.

It seems that this is why independent centres do better than university centres, in addition to the absence of a clear policy on finding a balance between education and research activities. However, independent centres encounter similar problems. Employees are not always hired for their experience and qualifications; politics and personal relations are more decisive. There are, however, clear-cut criteria for judging manuscripts submitted for publication.

Radical Solution Needed

The only way to improve the research centres is to find radical solutions for the current deficiencies. The first step, it would seem, is to define clearly the purpose of each centre and its aims.

It is impossible, since there is no national state, to bring the centres up to international standards, with good management, qualified personnel, diversified research units and stable budgets among other things. However, it would be possible for directors to delineate a specific definition of each centre's goals. Perhaps each centre could establish departments, or even new centres, on very specific topics. That way, staff members could develop more expertise in particular areas instead of covering such a broad spectrum of dealing with such a wide variety of eclectic topics. In this way, for example, one centre could do studies about Israeli parties, another about Palestinian emigration, another about changing folklore customs, or violations of human rights in the occupied territories, or the Palestinian labour force, etc. The researchers who work at these centres could be divided into small research units and given a concrete, specific aim to pursue.

The problem of funding must be solved by providing centres with independent budgets. In universities, the administration should offer grants in each department to be spent on research. Each department could have more than one research centre working on concrete goals.

All research activities at a given university should be coordinated by a higher university research authority. That authority would be authorised to allocate finances, to supervise the accounts in each department and university research centre, to coordinate projects to avoid duplication, and to provide facilities for typing, editing and publication.

In an independent research centre with a well-defined focus, the administration should encourage specialists from outside to work on specific topics.

Suggestions

The directors spoke about the necessity of creating an atmosphere of cooperation between the various research centres. They convened several meetings to coordinate. However, there was no concrete change. Dakkak told *Al Fajr*: "It is our duty to maintain a policy of cooperation between the various research institutions."

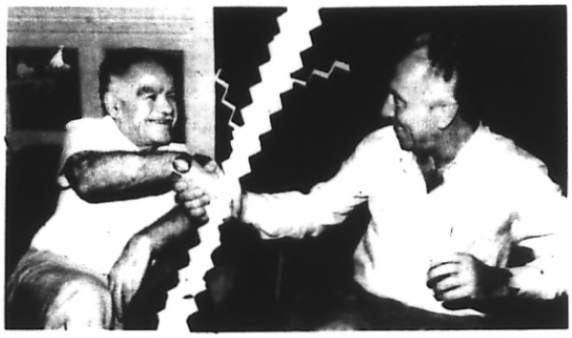
Sawalha proposed the formation of a coordinating committee for research whose role would be similar to that of the Council for Higher Education. "It is possible to form such a committee from representatives of professional unions, universities, and research centres," he said. Others advocated establishing a research authority that would control all research projects in the occupied territories.

It seems that all these suggestions are nothing more than rhetoric. There is no serious tendency to make real improvements in the work of local research centres. ■

The Coalition is Bound to Crumble But Not Over an Inquiry into the War

by Daniel Grossfogel

According to the coalition agreement worked out between the Likud and the Labour Alignment, following the indecisive July 1984 Israeli elections, Prime Minister Shimon Peres must surrender the premiership to Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir in the autumn of 1986. In spite of Peres's frequent vows that he will honour the rotation agreement, few people in Israel expect the Labour Party to keep its side of the bargain. A good many political commentators are convinced that within the next year, the Labour Party will manoeuvre the Likud cabinet ministers out of the government by way of a "crisis" contrived for this express purpose. (Whether the Labour Alignment will then retain its hold on the government depends on the clerical parties; if Peres does not succeed in buying them off, he will have little choice but to call an early election.)



The question at present is how and when the Labour Party will precipitate a Likud walk-out.

The question at present is *how and when* the Labour Party will precipitate a Likud walk-out. There are a number of issues which could be used to bring about such a "crisis" — the deteriorating economic situation, the prospect of negotiations with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, etc. What seems certain at this point is that Peres will not force the issue of a judicial commision of inquiry into the Lebanon War to a head; for although Peres called for establishment of such a commission when he was leader of the opposition, the political constellation has changed and it would no longer be expedient for him to make such a move at this juncture.

Mr Consensus

To begin with, Peres has gone to great lengths to present himself to the Israeli public as the one political leader capable of "healing the wounds" and "bridging the rifts" caused by the war. In his apotheosis as "Mr Consensus" Peres has steered clear of controversy; even during the elections the Labour Party zealously refrained from making the war into an issue, reckoning that potential defectors from the Likud would be put off by such a move. Indeed, Peres's desire to please everyone has gone so far that he no longer drives on the Sabbath, lest he alienate the religious public. A commission of inquiry could not fail to rekindle the antagonisms that flared up during the war and Peres's image as the "Great Conciliator" would be strained to the breaking point. Moreover, the Labour Party does not stand a very good chance of coming out clean from such an investigation. It voted in favour of the war in June 1982, albeit with a certain chagrin at the Likud's having pulled of a *coup de guerre*, and supported the war until the end of August, when it realised that it could make political capital out of the burgeoning anti-war protest movement.

Another factor the Labour Party leaders cannot have failed to take into account is that a commission of inquiry would not be able to present its findings to the public before the summer of 1986 — too late for elections.

So it is that the most vociferous advocates of such a commission are from Mapam and the Citizens' Rights Movement. Much as they have sought to launch a public campaign to that end, in a manner analogous to the campaign for ministerial responsibility which led to the establishment of the Agranat Commission following the 1973 war, they have thus far been unsuccessful. The apathy that has become so characteristic of Israeli society during the past few years is perhaps their greatest enemy, and up to now their major battle has been waged against social amnesia.

As Shulamit Hareven wrote in the Hebrew daily, *Yediot Aharonot*, "Why investigate? Wouldn't it be better to leave things as they are and turn our attention to the future, to the projects facing us in the years ahead? Our answer to this question is as follows: The public's knowledge — that is to say, what it knows and how it knows it — is not static. Given the dearth of official information, the public has acquired a distorted and even false picture [of what happened during the war]. Indeed, there are many people who are taking the trouble to spread rumours and blatant lies in this regard. So it is that at present a large segment of the public believes for example... that in the year leading up to the war, more than 1000 Israelis died as a result of terrorist actions launched against the Galilee from south Lebanon... This is not a joke. It is part of a general body of "knowledge" that has become accepted as political fact."(April 30, 1985).

Hareven calls for the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the Likud government's decision to go to war, yet, strange as it may seem, stops there, claiming that there is no need to investigate the army's conduct of the war, for "what the army needs now is peace and quiet in order to regain its confidence."

Deliberate Deception

With respect to the "knowledge" Hareven refers to, the following excerpt from the Passover supplement of the National Religious Party's newspaper, *Hatzofeh*, is quite revealing: "The Lebanese War, or Operation Peace for Galilee, as it was referred to when the war started, was forced upon us, like all of Israel's other wars. True, we took the initiative, but Israel did not want to wage a war against Lebanon... All we wanted was to live in peace with our neighbour to the north... It was clear [in June 1982] that the residents of Kiryat Shmona and the other settlements would not be able to hold out in the war of attrition being waged against them. Katyusha rockets were falling on their settlements and the residents were leaving their homes. It was only a matter of time before the north of the country became depopulated... (April, 1985).

EVEN DURING THE ELECTIONS THE LABOUR PARTY ZEALOUSLY REFRAINED FROM MAKING THE WAR INTO AN ISSUE.

The author of the article in *Hatzofeh* also informs his readers that the alliance struck between Israel and the Phalange was a "humane act, given the difficult situation in which the Lebanese Christians found themselves... the threat of a massacre was ever-present and Israel tried to save them from this fate."

Sa'ad Haddad, the leader of the Israeli-backed mercenary army of south Lebanon is referred to as a "courageous Christian leader" who "came to understand that Lebanon's future depended on its relations with Israel."

Hareven counters: "Only an official counter-statement can help root out the web of lies about the war, and even if it is not foolproof, the best means for reaching the truth in a public and official manner is a judicial commission of inquiry... Those responsible for the war are still in power. Shamir, a full partner to the war, will replace the present prime minister in a short period (in keeping with the rotation agreement); Sharon, who played a major role in the war, is at present a cabinet minister; and there are many other cabinet ministers who served in the government during the war who now act as though absolutely nothing happened."

A Barrage of Lies

But Hareven's approach has not found much of an echo. The Israeli public has become used to hearing lies. During the first week of May, Rafael Eitan, the army chief-of-staff during the Lebanese war, appeared on Israeli television and, using a barrage of lies and obvious distortions, criticised the very idea of investigating the war. Teddy Proyce subsequently blasted Eitan in *Davar*: "General Eitan's comments during the debate on the need to set up a commission of inquiry were patently ridiculous. Moreover — they were lies. He lied when he said the October 1973 war had not been investigated... He lied when he said the political echelon had not been investigated... and he lied about what happened suring the Sinai campaign... Likewise, his comments about the role played by the opposition and the media were false, as was practically everything else he said. His idea to investigate everything that has happened over the past 37 years is idiotic. (May 6, 1985).

Of course, what matters in Israel today is not whether a certain statement is true or false, but rather, who is making it. The way things stand at present, the advocates of a commission of inquiry do not have much of a chance, seeing as they need a majority in the Knesset for such a move. Needless to say, the Likud has no desire to delve into the finer points of what "went wrong during the war." The Labour Alignment has come to the decision that this isn't the issue on which to split the government. And the handful of people calling for a commission of inquiry has not been able to stir the public enough to demand that it be set up, in contrast to the situation in September 1982.

Right now it seems that the Labour Alignment is working to bring about a different sort of "crisis" to force the Likud to walk out of the govenment — namely, the resumption of the Camp David Peace process. ■

Not the Whole Story

The West Bank Story, An Israeli Arab's View of Both Sides of a Tangled Conflict.
By Rafik Halabi.
Revised Edition translated from the Hebrew by Ina Friedman.
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1985.

Book Review by A. Clare Brandabur

As a newsman for Israeli television, Rafik Halabi covered the West Bank. From his perspective, the *West Bank Story* is the decline of the old pro-Jordanian leadership in the occupied territories and the concomitant emergence of a group of brash young political figures all of whom backed the Palestine Liberation Organisation and some of whom became the elected mayors in 1976 of West Bank and Gazan cities.

Though the author is an Arab (a member of the Druze community — a small sect which split off from the Islamic mainstream in the eleventh century), he thoroughly disapproves of the rise of Palestinian nationalism among his fellow Arabs, a phenomenon which he attributes to the "bungling" of Israeli occupation policies. Halabi's criticism of the excesses of Israeli oppression of Palestinians, however, appears to be motivated more by a concern for Israel than by a concern for justice. Excessive harshness (which his account trivialises and sometimes falsifies) is a mistake, in his view, not because it is intrinsically unjust but because it threatens Israel's hold over the people and the land.

The dual identity of Rafik Halabi is central to an understanding of his book, as he himself acknowledges in devoting the first chapter to "credentials." Like the privileged elite among many other colonised peoples, the Druze in Israel trade loyalty and service to the colonial empire for special status however second class. Growing up in the village of Daliyyat el-Carmel, south of Haifa, he spoke Arabic and studied the sacred books of the Druze religion in Arabic. Later, however, he went to Israeli schools where he acquired a love for modern Hebrew poetry and came to see his future within Israeli society.

Rafik Halabi

The monument of Kufr Qassem massacre: *Halabi minimised the event and misrepresented the motivation of its perpetrators.*

Druze villages were placed under civilian administration after 1948, while the other Arab villages were under military rule and suffered severe hardship including restrictions of movement and extreme food shortages. The Druze, unlike other Arabs, serve in the Israeli army, especially in units of the Border Patrol. Their fluency in Arabic being useful for the infiltration and interrogation of Palestinian prisoners.

Halabi served in the army, attended Hebrew University, served under Teddy Kollek in the municipality of Jerusalem at the end of the 1967 war, and, when Israeli televison needed a bilingual reporter to cover the West Bank in 1974, he applied for and got the job. In the role of reporter he makes a genuine effort to tell the facts as they are, but his identificaton with the Israeli position is so complete as to compromise the very language of his book. Its fractured vision suggests a Peer Gynt who, having submitted to the eye-operaton of the Trolls, awakens to find the surgery only partially successful.

There is a duality of vision in the book, but it does not arise primarily from conflict between the author's Israeli citizenship and his Arab ethnic origins. Halabi resolved that conflict early in his life. He enunciates it early and often in his book: the opening line is "I am an Israeli patriot," and he reiterates his firm intention never to become a citizen of a Palestinian state even if such an entity ever came into being. Ambivalence arises rather from his attempt to practise honest objective reporting on events in the occupied territories when he has already committed himself to the racist colonial regime which is carrying out the oppression that he cannot avoid seeing. Mr Halabi's subject indeed is the suffering of the oppressed, but his voice is the voice of the oppressor.

To speak as he does of the "hornets' nest of Gaza," for example, or to say the army is "cleaning out pockets of resistance," is to use the language of Ariel Sharon and Rafael Eitan according to which Palestinians are filth and insects. In Halabi's account, Elias Freij is "an incorruptible moderate" while Yasir Arafat is a "gun-toting leader," even when the PLO Chairman gives his historic speech before the UN General Assembly.

Sometimes Halabi's bias goes beyond mere rhetoric and leads him to make statements which are simply false, as when he asserts that today "the technological revolution has permeated every sphere of life in the Arab villages of Israel" (p.17), or when he refers to one of the best known massacres — the massacre of Kufr Qassem — in terms which minimise the event and misrepresent the motivation of its perpetrators. In October of 1956, forty-nine unarmed villagers were returning from work after the imposition of a curfew of which they had not been informed. They were shot down deliberately and by orders of officers of the Border Patrol. In Halabi's account, "some overzealous policemen opened fire on a group of *fellahin* returning from the fields" (p.252, my italics), language which credits the murderers with the rectitude of boy scouts eager to earn a new badge

Sometimes Halabi records instances of cruelty and injustice towards Arabs with almost comic euphemism, as when, for example, he notes with approval that "the Beduin have adopted a stable life" (p.248). The reader is presumably to be edified, reflecting on this improvement over the implied instability of Beduin life heretofore, unless they had followed ongoing accounts in the Hebrew and the Arab press of the systematic confiscation of Beduin lands, the theft or official impounding of their herds, and their restriction under protest to reservation-like villages. Elsewhere he speaks of the "tens of thousands from the West Bank" who fled across the Jordan and *"willingly or otherwise, became refugees..."* (p.51, my italics), oblivious to the inherent absurdity in the suggestion that any people become destitute beggars by choice.

A similarly obtuse sensibility characterises Halabi's remark about the "release, relief, and euphoria" which swept through "the population — *particularly the Jewish population* — of Israel" (p.51,my italics) upon the great victory of 1967 when the West Bank and Gaza Strip were occupied and Arab Jerusalem annexed. Does he wish us to believe that Arab citizens were only a little less euphoric? What euphoria sustained the survivors of the attack on Qaiqilya who arrived dazed and bleeding in the orchards of Nablus without food, water, or blankets? Or the survivors of the families fleeing Jerusalem who were napalmed as they fled eastward on the road to Jericho? In Halabi's account of the destruction of the Latrun-area villages of Beit Nuba, Emmuas, and Yalu, his sympathy is as much with the soldiers who were distressed at having to carry out these distasteful orders as with those who were driven out and made ***homeless. Of course he omits the fact*** that some villagers were shot down when they tried to retrieve small children or disabled parents before their houses were bulldozed over their heads.

Halabi is also ambivalent in his discussion of Palestinian women. On one hand, he wishes to suggest that democratic, progressive Israel deserves credit for giving them jobs and making them an economic force to be reckoned with, yet he concludes that "the militant image of the Palestinian woman is no more than an eye-catching symbol" (p.282). He enumerates and then dismisses the considerable achievements of three extraordinary women: Samiha Khalil, Raymonda Tawil, and Sahar Khalifa. This ambivalence is particularly apparent in his discussion of Raymonda Tawil whom he credits with pioneering work in the woman's movement in Nablus and acknowledges as a noted writer. Yet he terms her attempts to establish dialogue with progressive Israelis "unfortunate," and denigrates her "brief and abortive foray" into the world of politics where, he believes, her way was blocked by the male chauvinism of Arab society. In fact, Raymonda has achieved a great deal in bringing the plight of the Palestinians to the attention of readers in many languages with her book, *My Home, My Prison* and her *Palestine Press Service*, and in talking with Israelis from every strata of military and civilian life, often at great personal risk.

Halabi's motive in revealing events in the occupied territories to the Israeli public, both as a television newsman and in the present book, is his concern for the welfare of Israeli society. For his efforts he has received death threats from Gush Emunim extremist settlers and reprimands from Ariel Sharon which were offset, to some degree, by the

Continued on page 15

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Local Palestinian newspapers were busy this week reporting on two topics – the attack on Palestinian camps in Beirut and the vigilantism of the Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza.

Newspapers in the occupied territories dedicated their front page stories and editorials to the violent assault on Palestinian refugee camps in and around Beirut. Papers condemned the attacks and demanded that Syria pressure Amal to stop the bloodshed.

Local papers reported the actions of Jewish settlers who reacted to the release of Palestinian prisoners by carrying out a campaign of terror against Palestinians all over the country.

The Palestinian Camps Are Not a Firing Range

Whatever the justifications and excuses offered for the aggression on the Palestinian camps, they cannot be acceptable to anyone who esteems human life. The residents of those camps did not choose to live there. They were forced to live in the camps. Others are to blame for their displacement and homelessness.

While we condemn the assault on the Palestinian camps, we also condemn the use of the innocent lives for settling accounts.

Whatever the differences are, they do not justify turning the camps into firing ranges or shooting grounds for anyone who happens to have weapons.

Such an attitude is detrimental to the relations with forces that are supposed to be allies and united. We, therefore, add our voices to the many voices demanding an immediate end to the fighting, which should be replaced by serious and responsible dialogue.

AL TALI'A
May 23

The Central Task

With the continued aggression on the camps and the growing number of casualties, it is not the appropriate time to score political points or to achieve factional gains. It is not required to prove whether the Syrian role was right or wrong. Everything is quite clear.

The central issue is to protect the lives of our people in the camps at the hands of the Syrian-backed gangs of Nabih Berri. They are fulfilling the conditions dictated by Murphy. So the main issue now is to enhance the Palestinian National Unity that emerged in the bunkers at Sabra, Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh.

The reinforcement of this unity and activating it on the political level is an urgent task. It is capable of aborting all the new conspiracies.

AL SHA'AB
May 24

National Unity to Protect Our Camps in Lebanon

The Syrian regime continues its crimes and massacres ***against our people in the Palestinian*** camps under the shameful Arab silence. The Assad regime thought that 1982 would see the end of the PLO, so it allied itself with the Israeli invasion and the American plan to divide Lebanon into cantons. This Syrian position raises an important question regarding the attitude of those who are still under Syrian influence.

What does the "Salvation Front" in Damascus have to say? Is it a bloodletting to annihilate the Palestinian people? The Democratic Alliance condemned the slaughters. Will the Salvation Front do the same? But condemnation is not enough. There has to be real Palestinian unity to protect our camps in Beirut. The Assad regime has revealed all its cards. And there is no time for play.

AL FAJR
May 24

The Palestinians Have No One But Themselves

The whole world realises now the aims and dimensions of the assaults on the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Last month, the Phalangists attempted to gain control over the Palestinian camps in south Lebanon. But having failed, they withdrew from their positions in the south and changed their commander. They appointed Hobeika as their new commander and the first thing he did was to call on the Syrian forces to return to Lebanon.

The Amal move against the Palestinian camps in Beirut area is a continuation of the Phalangist move. It has become clear now that all parties in the Lebanese National Unity government are trying to limit the armed Palestinian influence in Lebanon. It seems there is a secret agreement to end the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon and to place the Palestinian refugees at the mercy of the various Lebanese militias.

Despite the continued fighting among the warlords, they have agreed on a deal to slaughter the Palestinians. Therefore, the Palestinians should draw a lesson from the events of the last few days. This lesson is basically represented in the fact that the survival of the Palestinians and their defence is mainly dependent on the Palestinians themselves. We all know what happened when the Multi-National Force was charged with the task of defending the camps. And anyone who awaits an Arab stand is only dreaming.

The Palestinians have no one to defend them but themselves. Let's learn from our bitter experience. Our leaderships should transform this bitter lesson into a strategy.

AL QUDS
May 24

Blood Glitters With Truth

Syria, to the exclusion of the whole world, takes a unique position on what is happening in the Beirut camps. While all Palestinians are holding Amal responsible for the massacres, the Syrian media sees things differently. It holds Yasir Arafat responsible for the deteriorating situation in Beirut. Therefore, his supporters in the camps should be destroyed.

But no one will be deceived by this Syrian campaign. This commotion cannot create division among the ranks of our people.

All the Palestinian factions, especially those in Damascus, are before a hard test. They are requested to reinforce the unity that was born in the camps so as to thwart the Syrian conspiracy.

AL SHA'AB
May 25

The Palestinian Arm Cannot be Twisted

The victories achieved by the Palestinian fighters over the suspicious elements in the Amal movement and the 6th and 8th Brigades of the sectarian Lebanese Army are new proof that the Palestinian arm cannot be twisted or broken.

The barbaric and savage attacks are carried out by Amal elements who have forgotten that the national presence in Lebanon cannot be harmed. Whatever the excuses and arguments are, not even a Palestinian child can believe them.

Disarming the Palestinian camps is unacceptable. Amal and its supporters also cannot end the role of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. Amal cannot but accept the six-point programme put forward by the Salvation Front to end the aggression on the camps. Otherwise defeat will befall Amal and its allies.

AL MITHAQ
May 27

On the "Syrian Role"

Despite the ongoing aggression on the camps and the horrible slaughter perpetrated there by Amal, the Syrian regime turns away its eyes from all this and reiterates its condemnation of Yasir Arafat. At the same time it praises the Amal gangs and criminals.

This Syrian stand is not strange except to the naive or to those who refuse to face facts. It is the Assad regime that has a lengthy record of massacres against our Palestinian people. It is the Assad regime that laid out the plan for the attack on the camps. The Assad regime sent its troops to take part in the slaughter. It is this regime that restricts the movement of the Palestinian forces in the Beka'a and the mountains. It is the Assad regime that wants to implement the stipulations of its deal with Murphy calling for the liquidation of any Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

The most serious signs emerging in the last few days indicate that there is an attempt to evacuate the Palestinian refugees from south Lebanon and to subject the rest of the camps to suppressive and fascist authorities. This would be an extremely dangerous design for the Palestinian people, its cause and its future.

It is therefore surprising to find some Palestinian parties still talking about a neutral Syrian role. The Palestinian factions that united in the trenches to face the fascist onslaught are now required to abide by a clear political position toward the Syrian role.

AL SHA'AB
May 27

Palestinians

Continued from page 1

alone in addition to many wounded.

Reports also stated that the 6th brigade of the Lebanese Army which became involved in the siege on the first day of fighting, has lost at least 250 soldiers who staged a mutiny and withdrew to the Druze-controlled Shouf mountains or joined the camp defenders. AFP reported that Colonel Walid Sukkariyeh led 200 soldiers and officers away from the battle field where they took refuge in military camps under the control of Walid Jumblatt s Progressive Socialist Party. Shortly afterwards Sergeant Hassan Murtada led another 50 soldiers out of the fighting. They reportedly ambushed some units of the 6th brigade before they joined the Palestinian forces defending the camps.

The Palestinian military position improved on May 28 following a massive counter-attack against the Amal forces. According to a Palestinian statement issued in Damascus, four young Palestinian women who belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine sneaked through Amal lines wearing dynamite belts and blew themselves up, killing and wounding many Amal fighters. The Palestinian forces, who were involved in heavy battles all night, took advantage of the chaos which followed, to move outside Sabra and Shatila camps and occupy 10 positions which had previously been controlled by Amal. Independent estimates put the Amal – 6th brigade casualties at 21 dead and dozens wounded in the suicide attack. The turn in the fighting came after Amal forces had announced that they had occupied Sabra and Shatila camps, and that they were trying to "flush out" remaining pockets of resistance in the two camps.

Later on, news reports speculated that the Palestinian forces must have received reinforcements which enabled them to withstand the Amal offensive and then stage a counterattack. Reporters quoted Amal sources as saying that there is a network of underground tunnels which connect the three camps together. The tunnels are said to be wide enough for small cars to drive through them as well.

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel arrived in Damascus May 29 in an effort to convince Syria to intervene and end the fighting. Radio broadcasts said that Gemayel had asked Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to return the Syrian army to Beirut to act as a "peacekeeping force" and halt the fighting in the Lebanese capital. Syrian troops were invited to Lebanon in 1976 as a peacekeeping force and have remained there ever since. The Syrians were driven out of the Beirut area, however, during Israel's 1982 invasion. There was no news on the Syrian response to this rumoured request. Delegations from Algeria and North and South Yemen arrived in Beirut May 27 and held lengthy discussions with Amal leaders. The Shi'ite movement and its leader Nabih Berri, however, refused to accept any ceasefire proposals unless Palestinian fighters agreed to turn over their weapons, a condition which was strongly rejected by the Palestinians.

The Palestinian forces, on the other hand, put forth several proposals to end to the fighting. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, who arrived in Amman May 29 from Tunis where he attended a three-day meeting of the PLO's Central Council, said that Palestinian forces would never turn over their weapons to anyone. He, however, told reporters from the French TV station that he would agree to place the Palestinian refugee camps under the custody of three Lebanese religous leaders: Sheikh Hassan Khaled, the Sunni Mufti of Lebanon; Sheikh Ahmad Mahdi Shams al-Din, the Shi'ite leader; and Sheikh Mohammed Abu Shaqra, the spiritual leader of the Druze community.

Earlier proposals for a ceasefire from the Palestinian National Salvation Front and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and offers from the Lebanese leftist forces to enforce a ceasefire were all turned down by Amal.

SOUTH LEBANON

In the Israeli occupied "security zone" in south Lebanon, national resistance forces attacked and wounded five Israeli soldiers near the village of Majdal Salim May 27. An Israeli military spokesman announced that the soldiers were wounded by a road-side explosion on a dirt road near the village.

There were also several other attacks against the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army (SLA) during the past week. The SLA is Israel's candidate to police the "security zone" after Israel completes the final stage of withdrawal from Lebanon. Israel is expected to evacuate the Lebanese territory by next week.

Livia Rokach Memorial Fund
For Women Political Prisoners

Sponsored by:
MERIP – West Bank, and
Derech HaNitzotz Newspaper

To honour Livia's lifetime of struggle for the politically oppressed, and her particular concern for sisters-in-struggle

Donations can be sent to:
Livia Rokach Memorial Fund
P.O. Box 13180
Jerusalem

For the support of women political prisoners during and after their detention in Israeli prisons.

Calendar

May 31

Bazaar: National products sale sponsored by the Talitha Qomi school in Beit Jala. The bazaar will continue until Sunday June 2.

June 1

National Products: MARAM, a new store featuring distinctly Palestinian items for the modern household, opens under new management in the Hanania building, Ramallah. Open daily except Friday, 10:00 am – 9:00 pm.

Exhibit: *Day of the Child*, sponsored by the Palestinian Women's Committee. The exhibit will include clothes and other items for children at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre in East Jerusalem. Exhibit continues till June 3.

Show: *Celebration for Children's day*, sponsored by the Palestinian Women's Committe at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre in East Jerusalem, 2:00 – 6:00 pm.

June 6

Music: *Bach Organ Festival Recital*, by Elisabeth Roloff. Second-to-last in a series of 12 weekly concerts on Thursday evenings to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the birth of Johann Sebastian Bach. At the Church of the Redeemer, Muristan Road (Old City), Jerusalem, 8:30 pm. Tickets available at door. Tel: 282543/286654.

The new Maram
invites you to its
change of management / change of store

CELEBRATION
JUNE 1st 1985
10 am - 9 pm
Refreshments after sunset

The New Maram will feature distinctly Palestinian items for the modern household .....

★ LINGERIE produced by a cooperatively organized West Bank factory •
Unique craftwork by local artists •
Embroidered kitchen and other items •
Handsewn dolls •
Exquisite shawls, belts and bags •
Traditional rugs • and more •

REDUCTIONS

Maram
Hanania Building
near the Menara
Birzeit Road, Ramallah

Arab MKs

Continued from page 7

"And the PLP demands and insists to achieve an Arab university in the Galilee, perhaps in Nazareth. Two or three years ago, a group of Arab intellectuals submitted an application to the Ministry of Education for a university. It was denied until now. This was another condition in that agreement with the Alignment, that they will accept our demand to begin to discuss the establishment of an Arab university in the Galilee. It will not just be another university in Israel. It will be very special. Arabic will be the language of instruction. We think this will serve the cause of peace as well, because we intend it to be open also to Jews who are interested in Arabic literature, to learn Arabic, and to understand the way of thinking and style of life of the Arabs. We think through such a university we can solve the problem of many students who didn't find places in Israeli universities or couldn't go abroad to study although they wanted to, because of many limits. And we can stress the special situation of the Palestinians as a people who have a civilisation, history, and many educational things which must not be surpressed.

"We want to improve Arab agriculture so that unemployed Arabs can work in agriculture. In order to do that, you must have land. So we are struggling against any more expropriation of Arab land. Moreover, we demand the return of Arab land that was expropriated and remains unused."

On the solution to the Palestinian problem: "We want to reach Israeli public opinion to make them accept our ideas. The other field is the international one – to let it be heard that in Israel, Arabs and Jews are both demanding and supporting the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the occupied territories, to return them to their rightful owners, the Palestinian people, in order to establish their independent state, and that this must be done by negotiations with the PLO as the sole legimate representative of the Palestinians. And we accept the invitation of the Secretary of the UN that there must be an international conference with all parties, with the PLO, to discuss how we can reach such a solution.

"The Palestinians in Israel are facing two overall problems. Our list is going around these two problems now. One is discrimination – our first demand is for equality, without any relationship with serving in the army or not. We demand equality because we are citizens of the state of Israel. The other one is the main problem, which is the Palestinian problem. It is true that even when the Palestinian state is established – and I believe that it must be, it is a question of time only – that all the Arabs inside Israel will not move. We want to remain on our land, in our homes, in our homeland. But I think that if these two problems will be solved, the whole environment will change, and a new relationship will evolve between the Arabs and the Jews."

On the role of Arabs in Israel after the establishment of a Palestinian state: "Afterwards, I think that the Arabs will have a special role to be the bridge between the Palestinian people, from one side, and Israelis, in order to cooperate economically and so on. Then the struggle will not be political but educational, and it will be a question of civilisations between two people – how to live together in this area.

"I want to add here that in such a situation, as a Palestinian from one side and as a citizen of the state of Israel, I would demand double nationality – Israeli nationality, in order to get all the rights as a citizen of Israel, and Palestinian nationality, to get my satisfaction from the national point of view. I make a comparison with the Jews living in the US who have double nationality..."

On his role as an MK in the peace process: "The Knesset for me is not an aim. It is a platform through which you can deliver your opinions and your suggestions for solutions. I can't pretend that an MK can bring peace. But I'll struggle through this platform to bring a just peace. Our influence must be on public opinion, in placing the question on the agenda and not trying to avoid it." ■

WEEKLY REVIEW

The graduation of the *tawjihi* class at St. Joseph's School in Jerusalem, May 26, 1985./AO photo.

May 22, 1985

5000 BURIN DUNUMS GRABBED FOR SETTLEMENT

The head and *mukhtars* of the village of Burin in the Nablus district were notified by Israeli military authorities of the decision to confiscate 5000 dunums of the village land. The purpose of the expropriation is to expand the nearby Brakha settlement, on Jerzim mountain.

The decision was received with resentment and anger in the village and in Nablus and was seen as a threat to the future and existence of the residents. Landowners decided to appeal to the Israeli High Court and international bodies against the seizure of their land.

CENSOR BANS AL QUDS IN WB FOR A DAY

The Israeli Civil Administration in the West Bank prevented the distribution of editions of *Al Quds* in the occupied territories on the pretext that material about the prisoner exchange was not submitted to the military censor before publication.

BUS STONED OUTSIDE HALHOUL

An Israeli Egged bus was stoned near the town of Halhoul as it was making its way from Jerusalem to the settlement of Kiryat Arba in Hebron. A woman passenger was reportedly injured lightly in the incident.

DHEISHEH TEENAGER JAILED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced 15-year-old Abd al-Hamid Mohammed al-Karajeh of Dheisheh refugee camp to 4 years in jail and 3 years suspended. The minor was detained eight months ago. He was charged with throwing stones and using petrol bombs.

OKAMOTO TO BEKA'A

Ex-security prisoner Kozo Okamoto of Japan has decided to join members of the Japanese Red Army in the Beka'a Valley in Lebanon. Okamoto, 37, is currently in Libya and is expected to arrive in the Syrian capital Damascus soon.

SPECIAL WEDDING

A special wedding is to be held in Qalqilya in the next few days. The bridegroom will be Nimer Edwan, who was released in Monday's prisoner swap after spending 17 years in prison. He was sentenced to life. The bride will be Afifi Atiyeh al-Najjar, his fiancee of 17 years, who waited for him all this time.

4 PETROL BOMB ATTACKS ON BUS

Four petrol bombs were tossed at an Israeli bus as it was making its way from the settlement of Ariel to Ma'ale Ephraim in the north of the West Bank, the Israeli daily *Davar* reported. It said the bombs exploded harmlessly. An officer and a soldier who were among the bus passengers opened fire on the attackers, who escaped.

GAZAN JAILED

Mahmoud Musleh, 22, of Breij refugee camp in the Gaza District was sentenced to one-and-a-half years in jail and a similar suspended sentence by a military court in Gaza. He was charged with throwing an explosives charge, participating in a demonstration, hoisting a Palestinian flag and burning car tyres.

NABLUS GAS STATION SHUT

Israeli military authorities closed down a gas station in Nablus after local youths allegedly threw stones from the station at a passing Israeli bus, smashing one of its windows.

JALAZON GETS 12-HOUR CURFEW

Israeli authorities lifted a 12-hour curfew imposed on the Jalazon refugee camp near Ramallah on Tuesday. Large numbers of army troops mounted patrols in the camp after the curfew was lifted.

TULKARM RESIDENTS JAILED FOR 10 MONTHS

An Israeli military court in Tulkarm sentenced Mohammed Husni al-Balawi to 10 months in jail and 20 months suspended on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

May 23, 1985

GAZANS GET STIFF SENTENCES FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Khaled Tawfik Halabi and Hani Misbah al-Nadrisi, both from Gaza, to 8 years in jail and 2 years suspended. They were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation, weapon training, planting explosives charges in the Tel Aviv bus station, and participating in demonstrations.

The court also sentenced Mohammed Rajab el-Khirabi of Gaza to 7 years in prison and 2 years suspended for membership.

QATTENEH YOUTH FINED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah fined Qatteneh resident Mohammed Khaled al-Faqeh IS400,000 and sentenced him to 5 months suspended. He is charged with beating two border policemen at Jnaid prison.

QABATYA YOUTH JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Yasir Amin Nazal of Qabatya to 2 years in jail and a similar suspended sentence. He was convicted of membership, writing anti-Israeli graffiti, and ordering the 6 members of his group to demonstrate against the occupation.

May 24, 1985

THOUSANDS ATTEND FRIDAY PRAYERS

More than 100,000 Muslim worshippers attended Friday prayers at the Dome of the Rock in the Old City of Jerusalem.

May 26, 1985

SA'IR SCHOOL ORDERED SHUT

Israeli authorities closed Sa'ir Secondary School until further notice after unidentified persons reportedly hurled stones

Settlers

Continued from page 1

them to summon the others for a quick reprisal in case of an attack by Palestinian residents. The *Post* added that the settlers plan to pay surprise visits to homes of released prisoners to frighten them. They will also press the Israeli military administration to allow them to set up roadblocks and run vigilante patrols as they see fit, the *Post* reported.

"Wanted" posters showing pictures of freed Palestinian prisoners were also hung up on walls in Hebron and Gaza. Quoted in *The Jerusalem Post*, Shalom Wach, head of the Kiryat Arba council, said the posters are just the first of a series they plan to put up. He said settlers' action against the freed prisoners will continue "so that none will be able to remain in the area."

Many leaflets were posted at the Hebron homes of three released prisoners and all over Hebron May 28 urging them to leave the city. The leaflets warned that settlers would physically harm any resident who deals with the former prisoners.

The Hebrew daily *HaAretz* reported May 24 that several Qalqilya and Hebron residents complained to police about settler harassment during celebrations for the prisoners' release. The paper said settlers smashed lights hung for Ramadan by the municipality because they assumed the lights were strung by prisoners' relatives.

In Ramallah, settlers distributed leaflets threatening to kill Viola Sa'ati, a woman prisoner released in the exchange. They also threatened to kill families of ex-prisoners if they don't expel their sons. Former political prisoner Ziad Abu Ein invited foreigners to come and stay with him on a voluntary basis to protect him and his family against settlers' threats. Abu Ein was openly threatened by an Israeli interviewed by *The Jerusalem Post* last week.

The Hebrew press quoted unnamed settler leaders as saying that the general non-interference from the government in this harassment reflects tacit government approval of these actions. A *Jerusalem Post* editorial May 30 condemned government inaction towards the settlers by saying that "the (Israeli) army's response to the settlers' hooliganism has been conspicuous only for its absence." The editorial said the Israeli government has a moral obligation to honour the agreement it signed with the

Wanted sign of a Palestinian ex-prisoner posted in Hebron.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command for the exchange of prisoners. The agreement stipulates that prisoners who so choose should be allowed to return to their homes in the occupied territories and be guaranteed security and protection.

MK Geula Cohen of the right-wing Tehiya Party condoned vigilante action by the settlers in Hebron during a Knesset discussion on the prisoner exchange May 29. Cohen praised Kiryat Arba Rabbi Moshe Levinger for shooting in the air to break up the festivities during celebrations in Hebron for the released prisoners on their first day out of prison. Cohen said Levinger did what the Israeli army was not able to do when it allowed the families to receive their sons joyfully and to run through the streets in celebrating the release. Cohen said that if the Israeli army would not use force to suppress the Palestinians in the occupied territories, then the settlers should take the law into their own hands.

His Highness Patriarch Saraphim of the Greek Orthodox Athens Patriarchate during a recent visit to Jerusalem. *Al Fajr* Editor Hanna Siniora stands at the Patriarch's right.

at Israeli vehicles. Schools in the West Bank are on the doors of final examinations.

COLLEGE AREA DECLARED "MILITARY ZONE"

The area of the Modern Community College in Ramallah was declared a closed military zone by Israeli authorities. No reasons were given for this measure.

May 27, 1985

FREIJ IN AMMAN

Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij arrived in the Jordanian capital, Amman, en route to a visit to Greece, Britain, and West Germany.

2 PETROL BOMBS LOBBED AT BUS

Two petrol bombs were tossed at an Israeli bus as it passed near the village of Dura in the Hebron district on Sunday night. Israel Radio said the bombs failed to explode.

GAZA HEADMASTER DEMOTED

A school headmaster from Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip has been demoted to elementary teacher by the Israeli officer in charge of education in Gaza. The headmaster has been working in the education field for the past 25 years, five of them as headmaster.

QALQILYA YOUTHS SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Ahmad Shaker Zahran to 1 year imprisonment and 18 months suspended and Abd al-Karim Daoud to 6 months in prison and 12 months suspended. The two, who are residents of Qalqilya, were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation.

May 28, 1985

PLO CENTRAL COUNCIL CONDEMNS MASSACRES, BLAMES SYRIA

The Central Council of the PLO condemned the Syrian plot against the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon and reaffirmed the Palestine Liberation Organisation's right to defend Palestinians everywhere. The 60-member council issued a statement at the end of its emergency meeting in Tunis in which it strongly rejected any attempt to transfer the Palestinians from Lebanon to another place.

The statement condemned the plot against the Palestinians in Lebanon masterminded by the factional Syrian regime, Amal, and the Lebanese Army to achieve the objectives set by Israel in 1982. "The Palestinian fighters who have been subjected to massacres over the past 10 days have no option but to return their homeland or continue fighting until death," said the statement.

MURDERED STUDENT BURIED

Tawfiq Rashid Sawalmeh, the 18-year-old student from the Qalandya Training Centre who was stabbed to death in a clash between rival student factions in the centre on Monday, was buried in al-Fara'a refugee camp yesterday. The funeral was attended by many student unions in the occupied territories. The coffin, wrapped in the red, black, green, and white Palestinian flag, was taken to the local mosque for the traditional pre-burial prayers. About 5000 mourners, shouting pro-PLO slogans, attended the prayers.

KAHANE THREATENS 6 EX-PRISONERS FROM TRIANGLE

The village of Tireh in the Triangle area has announced that it will not allow the racist MK Meir Kahane to enter the village. Kahane had said he will come to the village to urge six liberated prisoners to leave their homeland.

PARTIAL STRIKE IN JERUSALEM

Merchants shuttered their businesses in Jerusalem's Old City for several hours to protest the massacres against the Palestinian people in Beirut. Israeli police mounted reinforced patrols in the walled-city, but no particular incidents were reported.

PETROL BOMB IN JABALYA

A petrol bomb was thrown at an army post in Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. Israel Radio said several suspects were detained for questioning.

STIFF SENTENCES FOR QASRA MEN

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Bahjat Hassan to 25 years in jail and Jamil Hassan to 15 years in jail on charges of possessing weapons and firing shots at Israeli army vehicles. The two are residents of Qasra village in Nablus area.

GAZA LAWYER JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced lawyer Adli Khalil Abu Ghali to 1 year in prison and 2 years suspended on security charges.

TELEPHONE POLES TORCHED

Arsonists set fire to 5 telephone poles in the village of Ramin in the Tulkarm area.

Second annual bazaar at the Arab Society for the Physically Handicapped in Bethlehem./AO photo.

Book Review

Story

Continued from page 11

loyalty and respect of his fellow workers. This motive is evident, for example, when he writes of his research into abuses of Arab workers, including exploitation of children amounting to slavery:

> I am haunted by the thought that Israeli farmers who employ Arab labourers and children to work their land could well end up leasing out the land and conducting their enterprises as if they were kulaks or effendis. It has happened before. Meanwhile, the hired labour lived on the periphery of the agricultural settlements. In another throwback to America's antebellum South, large families were crowded into improvised tin shacks and tottering wooden huts, which looked out on the villas of Israeli landlords waxing rich off the sweat of Arab brows (p.274).

Thus Halabi's graphic accounts of Arab workers paid starvation wages and locked up in illegal and unsanitary firetraps are followed by a bland discussion of the overall benefit to the Palestinians from their experience in the Israeli economy. Like many apologists for colonial exploitation, Halabi notes that the refugee camps "bristle" with such signs of prosperity as television antennae, and he even remarks that "thousands who learned occupational skills through courses offered in Israel are now contributing their talents to enterprises in Jordan and the Persian Gulf" (pp. 277-8), as if he has forgotten the land confiscation and miserable working conditions which drive Palestinians into exile in the first place — although he has just described them.

What solution does Halabi envision which has been frustrated by the failure of Israeli policy towards the Arabs? When he says, for example, "If the Israeli government had been more imaginative and politically nimble, it might have managed the situation more adroitly. As things were, the government in effect paved the way for the advent of a fiercely nationalist leadership in the West Bank" (p.110). Evidently he would have preferred the maintenance of the "good Arabs," those polite and deferential types "with whom you can talk business," and who, he seems to believe, would have been willing to subordinate Arab culture and political aspirations to that of the colonial state as he himself has chosen to do.

A. Clare Brandabur, a resident of Seattle, Washington in the US, taught English literature at Bir Zeit University from 1981-1984.

Jewish Graves or Arab Land?

Silwan Fights to Reopen Main Road

by Maher AbuKhater

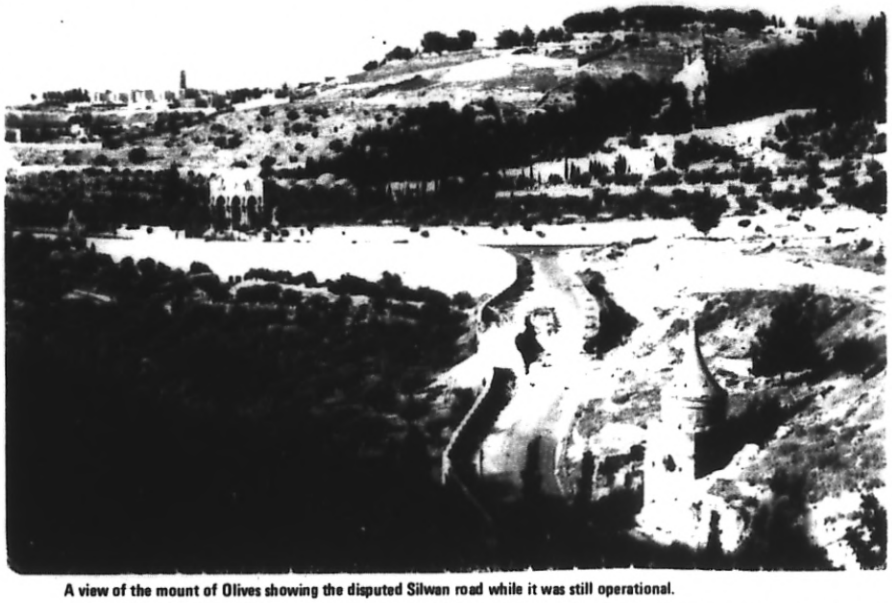
In 1974, Orthodox Jews from the Israeli Committee for Jewish Cemetries closed a main road leading to the village of Silwan from Ras al-Amoud. They claimed there were Jewish graves under the road and on hills around it dating back to 70AD. This was reason enough for them to dig up more than one kilometre of Silwan's main road, rendering it unusable except for pedestrians. The excavation and closure meant that some 30,000 residents of Silwan and nearby Thouri (Deir Abu Thour) lost a main entrance to their homes from the northeast, leaving only one entrance to Silwan from the west and another to Thouri from the southwest.

Silwan residents strongly protested the closure of the road which starts at the Church of Gethsemane and ends at the bottom of Kidron Valley just outside the residential areas of Silwan. The protest was filed with the Israeli Jerusalem municipality even though the real party to the conflict was the Orthodox Committee for Jewish Cemeteries.

According to Said Ayyed, one of the *mukhtars* of Silwan, the Jerusalem municipality did not intervene to stop the closure of Silwan's main road. On the contrary, it encouraged village residents to use the alternative roads. Silwan then took the case to the Israeli High Court, demanding that the road be reopened. Ayyed said the court ordered the road be reopened within two years, in 1976. But Silwan residents let the issue slide and the court order was never carried out, he said.

However, the story of the road resurfaced this year when Orthodox Jews returned to Silwan on April 23 to build a concrete wall across the road from the Silwan end to close it off permanently. The wall was to be built in front of the Silwan elementary school for boys and would mean the school would have to be destroyed. If implemented, this move will enable the Orthodox to take possession of the two hills that flank the road. One of the hills on the eastern side was rented to them from the Muslim *waqf* over a hundred years ago for an extension of the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives. Further up this hill is the main Jerusalem-Jericho highway, which was also dug up after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in 1967 in search of Jewish graves.

The proposal to build a wall to cut off Kidron Valley, which the Orthodox claim as sacred Jewish burial ground, from the rest of Silwan posed a serious threat to *waqf* property on the western hill closer to Jerusalem's Old City wall. This hill is known to Silwan residents as Sloudaha. *Mukhtar* Ayyed warned: "If the religious Jews build their wall, this will mean the automatic confiscation of Sloudaha and the permanent closure of the main road to Ras al-Amoud, which we have been trying to reopen since 1974."



A view of the mount of Olives showing the disputed Silwan road while it was still operational.

When Silwan residents learned of the attempts to block off the road, their representatives immediately called on the Jerusalem municipality to intervene to stop the work – which it did. On April 28, Mayor Teddy Kollek's advisor for Arab affairs, Amir Hashin, visited the site to see first hand the hole the Orthodox had dug in the ground as a foundation for the planned wall. Silwan representatives also met on May 1 with the Committee of Jewish Cemetries at Hashin's office to find a way out of the conflict. They found the committee is determined to proceed and to claim Kidron Valley as sacred Jewish burial ground. For their part, Silwan residents are also determined to fight back. They say the western hill, Sloudaha, is still Arab-owned and that there are no Jewish graves anywhere in Kidron valley, moreover, they still hope to reopen the main road.

Ayyed insists that there are no Jewish graves in Sloudaha or anywhere close to either side of the road. He said that in his more than 50 years of life he does not remember seeing any grave in the area. He charged the Committee of Jewish Cemeteries with "planting graves in Kidron Valley as a pretext to take over the land." He said Orthodox Jews built a concrete block in the middle of the road, not far from the elementary school, to claim the area as a grave yard. Then they came in April to block the whole area on the pretext of preserving their cemeteries, Ayyed said. Orthodox spokesmen, however, are adamant in their assertion that the land contains graves.

While the conflict continues between Silwan residents and the Committee of Jewish Cemetries, the Jerusalem municipality seems to be leaning more in favour of the latter. Amir Hashin said he is hoping "to reach an agreement acceptable to the people of Silwan and the Israeli Committee for Jewish Cemeteries." He refused to elaborate what compromise "agreement" he had in mind before discussing it with the parties to the conflict. However it seems likely his suggestions will be met with strong opposition from Silwan residents because Hashin termed Silwan's objections to the wall "unreasonable" and only "political." He asserted that the road is already closed, so building a wall to block it off will not change anything. While stressing also that the road "will never be reopened," he favoured the idea of "doing something" to prevent trucks from entering the disputed area to dump loads of dirt.

Ayyed believes what Hashin will propose is to move the proposed wall further up the road away from the school, making objections by Silwan residents less effective since that area is non-residential. However, Ayyed said, Silwan will continue to fight any attempt to permanently block off the road and threaten Sloudaha. He stressed that Silwan residents have two main demands: To reopen the road and to stop Orthodox Jews from continuing to plant graves in that area. ■

LEFT: Silwan residents looking at the foundation Orthodox Jews built for their planned wall in front of Silwan elementary school for boys. RIGHT: Israeli school children visiting the disputed area in Silwan where Orthodox Jews claim their ancestors' graves are located. In the foreground is the foundation recently dug up to build the planned wall. The Hebrew sign at right reads: *"Border of the Mount of Olives Cemetery. Entrance forbidden to* **Kahanim** *(Jewish priests). Chief Rabbinate of Israel."*